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ABSTRACT

Written as a reference for students, teachers, educationists, lawyers, and researchers, the book provides information on the education of indigenous peoples and a variety of other interests, such as characteristics of individual countries, history of native peoples, country's definition of indigenous people, statistics on educational performance, and general descriptions of each country involved. A bibliography follows each chapter providing more complete resource material. The first group of countries (the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Mexico and Brazil) is studied with a considerable amount of detail because they have recognized indigenous people and provide valuable comparative models for Canada. Intended to provide a world wide perspective on indigenous peoples, the second group of countries is divided in four sub-groups and includes: (1) Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru; (2) Norway, Sweden, Finland; (3) Martinique, Guadeloupe, New Caledonia; (4) South Africa, China, New Guinea. The first sub-group is classfied as developing countries and presents difficulties indigenous people have in poor countries. The second sub-group are developed countries and have certain similarities with Canada. The third are described as colonialist; their situation has certain similarities to Canada 100 years ago. The fourth sub-group is more diversified. (ERB)

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NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICIES FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

THE ONTARIO INDIAN EDUCATION COUNCIL

TORONTO, ONTARIO

1981

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NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICIES

FOR

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

A research project conducted with a grant from The Employment Development Branch of Canada Manpower and Immigration.

Project Manager and Editor: Roger Charles
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Allan Delearay
Art Zoccole

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SCHOOL SERIES
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TROPIC OF CANCER
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TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
NEW CALEDONIA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
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We would like to thank especially Wendy Hughes, Natascha McNamara, Elaine Bruer, Trish Baneham, Peter Jull and a couple of other individuals who prefer to remain nameless, who gave us their valuable time and provided us with first hand accounts of life in some of these countries.

Finally it is absolutely necessary to acknowledge the services of Charlene Martin without whose skills on the IBM Selectric and patience with the writers the project would never have been completed.

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The original idea for the project, National Educational Policies for Aboriginal Peoples was conceived by Paul Williams, a lawyer for the Union of Ontario Indians. His proposal was to study the laws concerning education of indigenous groups in various countries of the world. The Council revised the project for two reasons. First, the people who finally did write the various studies were not lawyers and therefore incapable of approaching legislation from the legal perspective. Second, if a project were written from a lawyer's perspective, it would be of limited use to the vast majority of Indian people. Consequently, the final product of the researcher's efforts is essentially a reference book.

This book provides information for a wide variety of interests. Although education of aboriginal peoples is its central theme, its brushstroke is considerably wider. The chapters detail characteristics of individual countries, including their history as it involves the native peoples, statistics on educational performance and a general description of the countries involved. We do not pretend that what is presented is complete and thorough on each individual topic, since each subject is a book in itself. Rather it is hoped students, teachers, educationists, lawyers, researchers and those just interested in other parts of the world will find it informative. A bibliography follows each chapter to allow those who wish to delve deeper into a subject more complete resource material.

Definitions

> ....there remains in the world millions of peoples who live their daily lives in relatively simple surroundings in tribal societies. These

> tribes are located on all of the populated continents and in territories within, and often across the recognized boundaries of political states...As peoples indigenous to their areas, these and all other tribal groups have come under the domination of the political states which have formed in the last three hundred years.[1]

As the paper to the conference stated, indigenous people live around the world. Since the development of modern technology and the creation of the nation-state with its resulting imperialist colonialist expansion, the indigenous peoples' lands and their lives have been threatened as the following table illustrates:

Table I

WORLD SURVEY OF TRIBAL DEPOPULATION

	Pre-contact Population	Population Low-Point	Depopulation
North America	9,800,000	490,000	9,310,000
Lowland South America	9,000,000	450,000	8,550,000
Oceania	1,700,000	375,000	1,325,000
Australia	300,000	60,500	239,500
Africa (Congo)			8,000,000
		Estimated Total Depopulation	27,860,000

Source: "The New International Economic Order: A Promise or Peril for the Indigenous Peoples of the World" - Paper of the Northwest Regional Conference, March 1979, Seattle, Washington.

But is there a definition for "indigenous". Four hundred years ago "indigenous" or "aboriginal" was strictly applied to those people who lived in North and South America who had a different physical appearance, culture and customs than the European invaders; they were called Indians or Natives. Today, around the globe, because of intermarriage and the breaking down of historical relationships, the definition is more confused. The following can be construed as reflective definitions of the area concerned.[2]

Latin America

Brazil: the term Indian is used to designate those whose ancestors were the original inhabitants of the country at the time of European discovery.

Chile: Indians are those descendents of the aboriginal population who derive their title to land from allotments under the Colonial regime or "the descendants of indigenous persons who are themselves commonly recognized as indigenous in virtue of their names, customs and idiosyncracies and in particular by their preference for the native language.

Guatemala: any person whose culture is the native culture of the country.

Mexico: determines Indian by the language spoken and certain cultural characteristics such as the type of clothing worn.

Panama: Indians with tribal organizations...confined to the remotest and most inaccessible mountain and coastal regions of the isthmus.

Peru: definition of Indian was left to the census official or the individual himself.

Venezuela: distinguishes between accessible and inaccessible tribes.

In general however, South American countries downplay the

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identity of indigenous peoples in favour of promoting nationalistic identity.

North America

Canada: defines as an Indian "every person who as a result of this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian" and them lists the conditions of who can be registered. They were essentially those entitled to hold, use or enjoy lands and their direct male descendants as determined by the Act in force of 26 May 1874.

United States: defines Indians as "all persons of Indian descent who are members of any recognized Indian tribe, and all persons who are descendents of such members who were, on 1 January 1934, residing within the present boundaries of any Indian reservation," together with "all other persons of one-half or more Indian blood." (Indian Reorganization Act, 1934 (Section 19))

Asia

India: Indigenous people are defined as those belonging to "the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which the President may specify by public notification."

Phillipines: defined Indigenous as "of or pertaining to the inhabitants dependent Natives like the Moros, Igorots, Mangyans, Negritos, or Aetas and other mountain people. Indigenous population - the entire group of indigenous inhabitants; the Natives comprising most of the non-Christian segment of thecountry's total population".

Australasia

New Zealand: a Maori or the native person is defined as a person who is a member of a Maori tribe, who can prove this genealogically, and who is accepted by other members of the tribe as a full participant in tribal affairs, with due allowance for age, sex, and social status.

Clearly these examples illustrate no true agreement on who is an indigenous person. Criteria include language, culture, group consciousness or a combination of the three. Furthermore the last two criteria involve obvious inherent difficulties of definition as well. As Glen Rivard observes,

> The need for an independent definition of 'indigenous' is even more apparent when one examines indigenous populations in different countries, all with different legal definitions and all pursuing different policies and articulating various concepts.[3]

As a result of the difficulties presented above, this project made no attempt to use a rigid definition of indigenous. The only criterion used is that the people studied were the first to inhabit the land. Otherwise our selection of indigenous peoples was determined by those generally accepted as aboriginal groups as well as for reasons which will be elaborated in the section dealing with the methodology of the project.

Methodology

The report is divided into two main groups. The first includes five countries, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Mexico and Brazil. These countries are studied with a considerable amount of detail. Canada is omitted from this group and the other group because there is a companion report that details education legislation in Canada.[4]

---

[4] Ontario Indian Education Council

The five countries were chosen because they all have recognized indigenous people and because they provide valuable comparative models for Canada. The Indian people in the United States are often from the same tribes as those in Canada. However, the government structures are different. New Zealand and Australia have different indigenous peoples but similar governments and histories. Mexico and Brazil illustrate the lot of indigenous peoples under Spanish rather than British rule as well as the difference between developed and developing countries.

The second groups of countries is divided in four sub-groups and included: 1) Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru; 2) Norway, Sweden, Finland; 3) Martinique, Guadeloupe, New Caledonia; 4) South Africa, China, New Guinea. These countries are dealt with in far less detail. They are intended to provide a world wide perspective on the indigenous peoples to the reader.

The first sub-group, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru is classified as the developing countries and presents the difficulties indigenous people have in poor countries. Its foil is the second sub-group, Norway, Sweden, Finland which are developed countries and have certain similarities with Canada. The third sub-group is Martinique, Guadeloupe and New Caledonia. These countries are described as colonialist, their situation has certain similarities to Canada a hundred years ago. The fourth sub-group is somewhat more diversified. New Guinea was selected because it is considered a post-colonialist country, the indigenous people having recently gained their independence. South Africa was selected because of its peculiar situation of two groups classified as indigenous with the minority group oppressing the majority. It is also the only country where there is a complete racist legislative structure, a situation which is unique in its explicitness, although historically not unknown to many aboriginal groups. China was chosen because the rest of the countries and the situation of the indigenous people therein are a product of three hundred years of technological advance in Europe and its resultant expression in imperialist -

colonialist societies. It is our belief that oppression and disregard for human rights are not traits peculiar to white man alone. We have selected China as an example of our belief but it is not the only one. We have ignored the Ainu in Japan, the Meo in Vietnam, the Latvians in the Soviet Union and the Tuareg in sub-Saharan Africa. Studies of these groups, we believe, would in general demonstrate the same pattern of oppression and assimilation.

The three writers Janet Deer, Allane Deleary, and Art Zoccole were each given certain countries from each major group. Janet wrote about indigenous people in the United States, Martinique, Guadeloupe, New Caledonia and China. Allane was concerned with Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Finland and New Guinea. Art was responsible for Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, and South Africa.

They were asked to introduce each country with a general description. Then they were to introduce the indigenous group and again make some general observations. Finally they were asked to research and write as much as they could about the historical, statistical and legislative aspects of education for their respective indigenous peoples.

They were also asked to place emphasis on primary sources of information especially personal interviews and government documentation. Some countries were either unwilling to give or did not have certain information. As a result assumptions had to be made which are frankly stated.

We have also used two source materials which have proved to be invaluable, the 1980 U.N.E.S.C.O.: Statistical Yearbook, 1980 (see Appendix I) and the Constitution of Nations by D. Peaslee. Using these materials and the other sources the authors were able to put together the chapters in this book. Although the responsibility for the scripts is primarily those of the previously mentioned authors, time constraints on their part

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resulted in Roger Charles assisting in some of the final realizations.

Limitations

Two major criticisms were directed towards this project. Dr. Harry Armstrong of the British Columbia School Teacher's Association, questioned the validity in comparing performance levels in education of aboriginal peoples in other countries with those of Indian children in Canada. He felt different curriculums, standards, educational requirements would invalidate comparability. To a degree his concern is justified, but we feel that there is variation at the provincial level in Canada yet comparisons and national figures are still used. As well, among the developed countries there is considerable and relatively easy interchangeability at all levels of the education. Finally, statistical comparisons are based for the most part on United Nations data which by implication is for comparative purposes.

The second criticism, or more aptly, concern expressed by a number of people was whether we had bitten off more than we can chew. If this were a doctoral thesis or intent on providing the maximum amount of detail on each and every topic, then their concerns would be well-founded. However, as we have said earlier, this is essentially an overview of national education policies for aboriginal peoples in various countries around the globe. In the final analysis, it is up to the reader to decide whether or not we have accomplished our goals.

Roger Charles,
October 1981

[1] The New International Economic Order: A Promise or Peril for the Indigenous Peoples of the World, a paper of the Northwest Regional Conference on the Emerging International Economic Order, March 29-32, 1979, Seattle, Washington.

[2] The following definitions come from Indigenous Peoples - Living and Working Conditions of Indigenous Populations in Independent Countries, (Geneva: I.L.O., 1953) p. 3-27.

[3] Glen Rivard, A Comparative Study of the Status of Indigenous Person in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, an unpublished paper, Osgoode Hall Law School, Toronto. 1975.

[4] R. Charles, Report on Legislation on Indian Education, (Toronto: Ontario Indian Education Council, 1981). Also see E.R. Daniels, The Legal Context of Indian Education in Canada, Edmonton: University of Alberta, Fall 1973 - an unpublished doctoral thesis.

BOOK I

UNITED STATES

Introduction

The United States was born in 1776 with the American Revolution. The country's main goal was to secure the power of the people based on a Federal, Republican Government system. It promised liberty as well as an improved political structure unlike any in existence at that time. The Constitution of the United States of America describes the political structure and the political bodies which hold legislative powers in the U.S. According to the Constitution, the main legislative powers are ordained to the Senate and the House of Representatives.[1] Constituents of each state elect two Senators and one to forty-three congressmen relative to the population of the particular state. The Nation government consists of the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives (all elected by the American people) and the courts. These legislative branches follow the constitutional guidelines created by the U.S. Congress in 1783. All bills proposed by the Senate and/or House of Representatives must be forwarded to the President for approval, although a two thirds vote by Congress can cancel a President's veto. The Supreme Court may reject a bill as well if the court deems it as unconstitutional.[2] The Federal government is the controlling power in the formulation of state or National legislation. A Congressman elected to represent a state works in unison with the President in order to formulate a solidarity between the state and federal government entities. They have the power to request state taxes (Indians are exempt) but legislation regarding revenue is decide upon by the House of Representatives before it becomes a bonafide law.

The aim of the American government was to fulfill the promises made to its people who had fought for the right to be American.

> The Preamble states that the Constitution is ordained by the People...States may not abridge the freedom of citizens granted in the Constitution nor deny the right to vote which may not be bridged on account of race, color, or previous servitude, sex nor be subject to the payment of any tax.[3]

In light of the Constitution, the government of the United States is bound to the will of its people. The present population in the U.S. is estimated to be 218,059[4] million (1978 figures) compared to 3.5 million in 1790.[5] It is estimated that the U.S. has a present per capita income of $5,000 plus.[6] The approximate (market prices) Gross National Product in 1978 was $2,117,890,000,000 and $9,700 GNP per capita with a per capita increase recorded at 2.0% between 1970-77.[7]

In short, the U.S. is the wealthiest country in the world based on a number of criteria.

Definition of an Indian

Through the course of history, the definition of an American Indian has met several changes. De Brown noted that the name Indian began with Christopher Columbus.[8] His meeting with the Natives of America left him in awe, claimed a University professor of Turin, Italy, The professor explained Columbus' impression of the Native people and how he eventually named them.

> ...You probably know this, but Columbus was very impressed by the goodness of the native people. They would give away everything they possessed, and they were opposed to war. So he named them "In-Dios". Dios, in Italian and Spanish, means "God". Together with "In" it is translated "Children of God".[9]

Over time more Europeans came to North America and with the different dialects came the difference in the pronounciation of Indios.[19] Eventually it became Indian. As Indians became a government concern (through the signing of the Treaties) legislation formulated by the Federal government, namely BIA, included a vague definition of an Indian. In essence the definition hasn't changed over time from the present interpretation.

TITLE IV P. 92-318 - Section 453

For the purposes of this title, the term "Indian" means any individual who: (1) is a member of a tribe, band or other organized group of Indians, including those tribes, bands or groups terminated since 1940 and those recognized now or in the future by the State in which they reside, or who is a descendent, in the first or second degree, of any such member, or (2) is considered by the Secretary of the Interior to be an Indian for any purposes, or (3) is an Eskimo or Aleut or other Alaska Native, or (4) is determined to be an Indian under regulations promulgated by the Commissioner, after consultation with the Nation Advisory Council, which regulations shall further define the term "Indian".

Thus the nature of being Indian has become a formalized piece of legislation which is a deciding factor in the determination of Indian status. The Indian is defined in a slightly different context from the State point of view and the Federal point of view.

The definitions of citizenship are as follows:

State	Federal
All non-citizens (Indian) within territorial limits of U.S. given same priviledges as other citizens of the U.S. (1924)	Same as state law except the federal government recognized and aides specified status Indian (1934) a person of 1/4 blood or more and part of a federally recognized tribe is granted rights of special status.[11]

GENERAL HISTORY - Pre Contact

> The archeologist's first estimate of how long we've been here was 6,000 years before the life of Christ. Then they robbed another grave and found that we've been here for 10,000 years...About four years ago, in Baja, California, they found a cave and some humanlike bones, pottery and arrowheads that could be as much as 1 million years old.[12]

There seems to be a discrepancy regarding the aboriginal inhabitants of North America. Their place of original is definitely in dispute. The common theory behind the Indian occupation of North America is that the Indians crossed the Bering Strait from Asia 30,000 years ago.[13] Their nomadic wandering resulted in the dispersal of tribes across the continent. Radio carbon and the denhdrochronology technique (similar to the technique used in deciding a tree's age by the number of growth rings on it) used by archeologists provided supportive evidence for this theory. Another theory is that the aboriginals travelled from Africa and the Orient on make-shift rafts. They landed in New Mexico and ventured to the interior and coast of North America.

Social Structure - Pre Post Contact

The Indians of North America are classified under one heading, "Indian" but in reality there are a number of tribes in North America, each with its own unique characteristics. Although there exists some similarities (ie. physical features) among the tribes, linguistic, cultural and religious diversities do exits. The two major types of "Indian" social structures are: a) the nomadic group structure and, b) the agricultural group structure. The majority of American Indians were nomadic. Their religion was not explicitly defined and their oral tradition was less defined and hence less emphatic. Time was spent on survival rather than on the development of a religious ethic or political concerns.

It was a gathering or foraging economy, in which game might still have provided a major food supply, but all manner of wild seeds, fruits, berries, nuts, roots and fleshy plants were utilized. Along freshwater streams and lakes and salt water shores, fish and shellfish were taken in abundance with traps and weirs and specialized gear.[14]

On the other hand, some tribes were sedentary. This meant that the tribe was able to practise and develop agricultural techniques, had the opportunity to create a social world conducive to sedentary living.

It was a life-style that fitted perfectly the kind of social organization that must have been developing throughout the west and northward to the Arctic. This is an unstratified, egalitarian, kinsman-oriented group, co-operating in small units, and maintaining an intimate association with the natural environment. The people of those regions apart from the agriculturally induced urbanization that, in the southeast and west America, divided populations into ruling hegomonies and voiceless masses.[15]

Another difference in the social make-up of the various tribes was that some based themselves on a matrilineal structure, some on a patrilineal structure. There were also two different types of kinship systems practised by various tribes.

Two basic principles of American Indian social organization that are widely distributed around the world are exogamy and unilineality. The principle of unilineality means that kin are counted on one side only. Thus one belongs to the kin group of either one's mother or one's father...the principle of exogamy whereby one marries outside of one's kin group or clan, results in myriad links that bind bands, villages, or tribes.[16]

One thing that the tribes in Northern America had in common was the "oneness" they shared with nature. All experienced a bond with the natural functioning of earth and sky and the simplicity that accompanies a traditional life-style.

Native Population

At the time of Columbus the Indian population in America was estimated at 840,000 persons of various tribal backgrounds. (Estimates previous to 1492 are unavailable.) From 1622 through 1644 there was an enormous decrease in the Native population. McNickle notes the reasons for the gradual decline.

> ...the actual reduction and scattering of populations resulting from epidemics spawned by initial contacts with Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Sears, 1964) and from border wars.[17]

The population remained unstable until the nineteenth century. As health conditions improved and wars had become replaced by Treaties the population began to increase once again. By the twentieth century population figures demonstrated the possibility for future growth.[18]

TABLE I

AMERICAN INDIAN POPULATION, 1890 - 1970

YEAR	POPULATION
1890	248,253
1900	237,196
1910	265,683
1920	244,437
1930	332,397
1940	353,929
1950	343,410
1960	523,591
1970	791,839

Source: Fuchs and Hauighurst, To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education, (N.Y.: Doubleday and CO., 1972) p.24.

Presently the Indian population in the U.S. is approximately 880,000. This is about 0.4% of the total population.[19] Although they remained a minority, they certainly disprove a common assumption. The assumption is that,

> Contemporary Indians are seen as a beaten people on reservations, sharing in a general "culture of poverty", a curiosity for passing tourists, while the notion persists, despite census figures to the contrary, that Indians are "vanishing" as a racial and socio-cultural entity.[20]

Reasons for the increase in population are not clearly defined but some general statements have been made regarding the phenomenon of adaptation.

> Indian communities persists and in many cases are actually increasing in size. Differential opportunities, particularly in education, doubtless explain why some people have followed the course of assimilation...Young Indian people today, who have clear alternatives, are opting in surprising numbers to remain Indian and promote Indian goals, using their education advantages toward this end.[21]

The struggle that Indian people have been confronted with as the result of disease, war and modern technology have not frightened them into oblivion. On the contrary they are growing.

> As hopeless as the Indians' situation appeared to ethnologists and other outsiders, and as great as the gap seemed to be between aboriginal lifeways and the burgeoning industrial nation, there is a strong suggestion that Indians did not accept defeat.[22]

The Colonizers - Pre-Revolution and Post-Revolution

The North American continent had been explored by Vikings as early as 1000 - 1024 A.D. [23] (In particular Greeenland, Newfoundland and Labrador) but as early as this discovery was made, it received little attention from the small populace scattered about the world. The first recorded discovery of the Americas was made by a Spaniard, Christopher Columbus, when he landed on the Island of San Salvador on October 12, 1492. He reported back to Isabella, the Queen of Spain, confirming the existence of the new world. Columbus' impressions of the Indian people who greeted him were also relayed back to Spain.

> "So tractable, so peaceable, are these people," Columbus wrote to the King and Queen of Spain, "That I swear to your majesties there is not in the world a better nation. They love their neighbours as themselves, and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanies with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy."[24]

The Indian's impressions of Europeans were also noted and were stated centuries later.

> They're numbers were small; they found friends, and not enemies; they told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and came here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat; we took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down amongst us; we gave them corn and meat;...[25]

Inhabitation of America took place in 1607 when Europeans settled in Jamestown, (southwest of New York). The next major settlement was established in Massachusetts, the Plymouth Colony. The white populations were slowly expanding but as expansion continued the demand for more land became greater.

The colonists approached the Indians with deeds requiring the Indian to mark these deeds which in turn gave the colonists the right to occupy the land stated in the agreement. The Indians were unaware of the fact that the deeds were binding but at this stage the matter seemed of little concern to the Indians. One leader of the Pemaquid tribe was quoted as saying "Samoset knew that land came from the Great Spirit, was endless as the sky, and belong to no man."[26] The Indian soon found that this wasn't so. More colonists came, more land was demanded and the Indians were being forced to move to less habitable and less fertile soil. The colonists felt that the Indians had far too much land for their needs and thought themselves justified in their appropriation.[27] America began laying claims for Independence and the Indian people began laying claims for their land. Many Indian and English battles resulted but the colonists remained powerful. By 1784 the Americans had become their own masters. Britain, through its defeat in battle, came to recognize the United States of American as an independent nation. The American people decided at this point, to return its attention to the indigenous population of their newly proclaimed land. Perhaps through their struggles for sovereignty with the British, they came to develop a philanthropic view of the Indians, a view that was established during their first meeting one that once renewed, was soon to die. Although the American Constitution promised "Liberty and Justice for All", it fell short in its obligation to the Indian people. Indians are the only minority named in the American Constitution but they are termed as "miscellaneous subjects under Article I,."[28]

Reference was made to them in the Constitution regarding the management of their finances,

> The congress shall have power...to regulate commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.[29]
>
> The status of the American Indians, like so many other matters, was left indefinite under the Constitution. By implication the Indians were almost outside the constitutional system. They were denied citizenship, exempted from taxation and not counted in apportionment of representation and direct taxes. (Congress was authorized merely to regulate Commerce with Indian tribes.)[30]

Later, the Indian people were recognized as domestic subjects or wards of the State until 1953.[31] The U.S. government has always been dumb-founded by their relationship with the Indian people. Hence they went through several stages in the development of that relationship and are still in the process of clarifying that relationship. Jessie Reiber and Associates described the four major approaches the U.S. government had assumed in deciding their role in Indian country.

Roughly, the congresional and administrative history of the U.S. Indian relations can be divided into four time periods. First, 1789-1817 in which the U.S. laboured to uphold its highest intentions in its relations with Indians. Second, 1817-1870 in which the ideas of Trusteeship and Local Government started to erode while alternative policies were examined and lip service paid to the original concepts. Third, 1870-1934 during which outright abandonment of the original ideas became policy. Finally, 1934-present during which, with the exception of a decade, a counter thrust developed to reinstate, in a more progressive manner, the original ideas. The A.I.P.R.C. is, from some point of view, a culmination point on the road back to the original U.S. - Indian relationship[32]

Although it doesn't appear in any written document, per se, from the early days of America and again from her early beginnings as an independent Nation, her people made agreements and promises with a fellow sovereign nation. Emerich Vattel published "The Law of Nations" in 1760 and his interpretations of the rights of the indigenous people of America "...became ingrained in the U.S. history and jurisprudence.[33]

> Vattel clearly points out that only sovereign nations can make treaties. Thus, in viewing first British and later U.S. action, the signing of treaties was an act recognizing, on the part of non-Indian powers, the national sovereignty of the Tribes.[34]

Indian people never gave up their sovereign rights although they did agree that the U.S. government should protect certain interests on their behalf, (ie. the right to certain lands, the right to be educated). Despite this fact, the U.S. government enacted their somewhat indecisive and often varying role in Indian country, often to the disadvantage to the Native populous.

The Treaty Period from 1789-1870 was a time in which the U.S. and Indian leaders negotiated over land and the resultant compensations. The Reservation Period took place between 1870-1887. During this time Indians assumed the status of wards of the U.S. government, treaty negotiations came to a halt and many Indians now occupied the West as the result of surrendered eastern lands. The Allotment Period from 1887-1934 meant individual land allotments were made to tribe members to discourage "the Indians communalistic culture in order to facilitate and hasten his assimilation into the prevailing white American culture."[35] The Reorganization Period which came about 1934 and lasted until 1952 was geared towards undoing the assimilative nature of the preceding act by emphasizing the value in the preservation of Indian culture. Finally, the Termination Period which began in 1953 is aimed in desolving the special status of Indian people and ultimately assimilating the Native population into the American mainstream.[36] Native people were again faced with a struggle to remain "Indian".

All five periods contained educational ramifications in that education was of prime concern for both American and Indian. Hence, these periods will be discussed in the following section.

A Chronological Approach to Education Legislation

The early contacts with the Indian by the Europeans were made by Jesuit missionaries. Although many settlers of varying backgrounds ventured to the land, the missionaries were always close by, eager to give the word of God. By 1568 they had already made known their concerns for the education of Indians by setting up a school in Cuba to accommodate Indians from Florida[37] At this point, no significant differences were made between church and State (British practise) and this resulted in the early period of the mission school's control over the education of Indian children. In 1619, the state of Virginia's governmental assembly determined that churches and schools should be erected for the Indians in the hope of "civilizing" them as soon as possible. Thus the Assembly decided upon the manner in which the Indians would be instructed.

> Be it enacted by this present assembly, that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, eache towne, citty, borough and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certaine number of the Natives' children to be educated by them in true religion and civil course of life... mostly towardly boyes wit graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature so as to be fitted for the college intended for them from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion.[38]

The only attempt to educate Indians at this time, by persons other than the missionaries was by the Virginian Cog, in 1618. The company allocated lands, cleared the area and begin

---

construction. An Indian massacre was said to have put the plans for the integrated Caucasion and Indian school to a halt.39 The beginnings were slow. It appeared that no long standing commitments were being made and plans made by Indian supporters rarely solidified. The first true commitment made by the U.S. government with regards to the education of Indian people was in 1775.[40] The Continental Congress allocated $500.00 towards the education of Indian students at Dartmouth College. The funds were specifically for the Oneida, Tuscarora and the Stockbridge Indians for their support of the U.S. in their battle against Britain. The courses were in two areas; the art of becoming a miller and the art of becoming a sawyer. During that same year, a committee on Indian Affairs within the Continental Congress authorized that funds be supplied to Ministers, who were willing to teach their Indian followers (specifically the Delaware Indians) religion, to teachers who would instruct the students in reading, writing, arithmetic and to a blacksmith willing to teach his trade.

The development of such famous colleges as Dartmouth, Harvard, and William and Mary were in part a result of a desire to give the Indian people higher education. Nonetheless, the total number of Indians education in the European method was small. Yet the educational activities and practices developed during this period strongly influenced future approaches to education. Chief among these were individual missionaries as both preacher and teacher subsidized by private and governmental monies lecturing Indian communities on Christianity and civilization; emphasis on reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism; and pressing Indian leaders and adults to allow their children to go to boarding schools in order to instill them with civilization and Christianity.[41]

Americans were concerned with drawing up their Constitution now that they had secured their independent position against the British. At this stage the position of the American Indian was indefined. Congress didn't recognize them as citizens but the new government wanted to become known as the benevolent force in the proceeding with the aboriginal population. The American government hadn't yet assumed the position of governing Indians as wards of the state but they were securing their bargaining position with the Indians. Congress set up an Indian Affairs Department as a branch of the War Department. Article III of the Northwest Ordinance claimed that the Federal government would maintain a special relationship with the Indian people in the territory and elsewhere in the country.

> The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wards authorized by congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.[42]

Soon talks regarding more than land claims would come about. The Americans were still pre-occupied with their desire to civilize the natives and they felt that this could only be accomplished through education. Thus throughout the following decades education became more and more important in American legislation.

The Treaty Period 1794 - 1870

The Constitutiuon under "the Commerce clause" gave sole authority to manage Indian affairs to the Federal Government. The Congress was given authority to regulate trade with the Indian nations and the President was empowered to negotiate treaties subject to Congressional approval.[43]

The treaties, among other things, frequently promised education or instruction in mechanics or husbandry. These commitments were considered inducements for tribes to accept and learn white ways. Starting with the treaty with the Oneidas, Tuscarora and Stockbridge Indians of 1794, 120 treaties were signed containing education provisions.

The commitments to education included, "general education purposes, teachers, salaries, construction and maintenance of school buildings, support of manual labour and industrial schools, instruction in agricultural mechanical and industrial arts, school supplies and materials and general funds for education."[44]

Section 13 of the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1802 provided up to $15,000 to "civilize" the Indians and is considered the first serious federal attempt to do so. In 1819, a bill was passed by Congress allowing the creation of a Civilization Fund which provided financial support to religious groups and individuals who would work and teach among the Indians. By 1830, 1512 students received aid from the fund through 52 institutions. It also standardized compensation for teachers, interpreters, etc. and allowed that "a preference shall be given to persons of Indian descent, if such can be found, who are properly qualified for the execution of the duties."[45] It was also designed to halt the misuse by whites of treaty monies.

Between 1838 and 1860 the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Choctaws, Chicsaws, Creeks, and Seminoles) developed a complete school system under their own administration from elementary through higher education using locally trained teachers from among their own people. The whole system was financed by the tribes with educational annuity monies and with grants from the tribal treasury.

This system developed by these nations faltered with the Civil War. Besides the war, they as well as the other Indian nations were constantly confronted with white encroachment on their lands, broken treaties, removal and reservations. All of which prevented any stability and systematic development of education even when the Indian people desired it.

Allotment Period 1870 - 1933

By 1871 a Board of Indian Commissioners had been established. From then to the beginning of the twentieth century was the most aggressive period in the establishment of reservations. The political structures of the tribes were undermined and the people demoralized.

> The cultural and religious values came under steady attack by the agents and the churches. The schools were used as the vehicle to undercut both the cultural and religious values of Indian people. The schools became the battleground and the children became the target of this new policy of civilizing and settling the Indians.[46]

Vine Deloria says of this period,

> The period of cultural oppression in its most severe form (1887-1934) served to create a collective amnesia in contemporary people.[47]

He goes on to say that modern Indian studies programs are a direct result of the oppression and destruction of Indian values that were most visible in this period.

It was during this period that off-reservation boarding schools were started. They stressed character, industrial training, and individualism. Students were also placed in white homes to live and work. By 1890 laws were passed forcing Indian children to go to school and withholding both rations and annuities to their families if they did not.

By 1910 the concept of boarding schools and on-reserve schools had been dropped in favour of access to public day schools. The ultimate intention still being assimilation, thereby ending federal responsibility for Indian affairs.

World War I and Post War Period

The World War I period brought about an important change in the U.S. and Indian relationship. The benevolent nature of the Indian was once again recognized when the Indians volunteered their services to the military. So moved was the U.S. government that they created the Act of November 6, 1919; an act which awarded to all Indians in the U.S. who enlisted and received honorable discharges. "In the United States public opinion was aroused by the realization that such patriotic people were neglected wards of the government."[48]

This period was important in the development of Indian education policy because it was a time when an awareness of the indigenous population was becoming prominent. By 1924, all American Indians were granted full citizenship (in lieu of the Indian Citizenship Act)[48] plus recognized tribal status. Treaties continued to be honored and the Federal Government continued their education assistance programs (for children of 1/4 and more Indian blood) as well as other programs made on the behalf of American Indians. At this point the Secretary of the Interior (in charge of Indian affairs) was instructed to legislate and regulate school attendance at Bureau schools for Navajo Indians (1919 - 9,613 school age children, only 2,089 Indians were enrolled in institutions) but several years later half of the group of school aged Indians were enrolled. Little was achieved in the attempt to increase enrollment rates.

Meriam Report of 1928

Shortly after the American Indians were granted citizenship, the Federal Government wished to further its new benevolent attitude and in view of their concern, proposed an extensive study to be conducted to determine the American Indians situation. Thus, in 1926 the Secretary of the Interior (BIA official head) contracted Lew Meriam of the University of Chicago to do a study entitled, The Problem of Indian Administration.[50] Meriam's report "...brought the Indian plight to national attention."[51] Meriam noted two major problems facing the American Indian at the time. One problem stemmed from a lack of health and educational services. Although the Indian people were entitled to such benefits they received far too little, if any assistance was received. The second problem emanated from the lack of Indian control on the issues.

In the area of education children were expected to become a part of the American mainstream as quickly as possible but this wasn't readily accomplished. Not only did Indians resist assimilation but they also met with unique problems as the result of the American education system. Some problems arose from the foreign course material, some from a different conception of time. The result was numerous drop-outs (some districts had a 100% drop-out rate), low achievement levels on the part of Indian students and low self-esteem.[52] The Meriam report also criticized BIA boarding schools claiming that day schools would be far more advantageous.

> The chief advantage of the day school for Indians whether maintained by national government or the state, is that it leaves the child in the home environment, where he belongs. In this way not only does the home retain its rightful place in the whole educational process, but whatever worthwhile changes the school undertakes to make are soon reflected in the home.[53]

The education system surrounding Native youth was proving itself to be ineffective.

Another problem stemmed from the implementation of the Indian Citizenship Act. Meriam found that large groups of Indians had migrated to the city only to find devastation. Indian people were found jobless. Many were victims of the 40% Indian unemployment rate (ten times greater than the national average) and the average family had an income of $1,500 (below poverty level).[54]

At this point, the government was compelled to right some of the wrongs that had been imposed upon the Indian nation. They promised to give greater attention to the problem areas. At the same time, Indian people continued to demand the recognition of treaty rights. They could not and would not be assimilated into the mainstream of American culture. They had not given up the right to be Indian and now they were recognized citizens as well. "Their rights under...unmet treaty obligations, on the one hand, and their basic rights as U.S. citizens, on the other, form the basis for Indian claims to dual rights in U.S. society".[55]

The outcome of this interaction was the Johnson O'Malley Act in 1934. The Act recognized a continuing federal responsibility for Indian education in spite of the states' legal obligation to educate Indians just as other citizens.

1950 - 1970

The Johnson O'Malley Act was a major step in the right direction, allowing the use of native languages and Indian subject matter in schools, among other new approaches to native education. Through to 1950 these policies were pursued. By 1950, however, Congress had passed House Concurrent Resolution 108 which sought to terminate the government's role as trustee. Money was provided for educational services only if the Indians lived on the reserve, denying them to urban Indians. Moreover treaty obligations were considered fundamentally irrelevant.

The pressure to send Indian children to public schools increased during the decade of the 50's so that by 1970 two out of every three Indian pupils were enrolled in a public school. The Coleman Report of 1965 found Indians to be the "most integrated" of any ethnic group. This meant that their classmates were far more likely to be of a different ethnic group than would be the case for any other ethnic group.

Although the Congress action was retrogressive, the director of education of the BIA, Hildegard Thompson was able to show that between 1952 and 1965 the number of Indian children in school increased by 35,000 and those not in school declined by 11,000. As well there was over 300% increase in Indian students attending post-secondary education.

The mid-1960's saw the establishment of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, in Arizona; BIA participation in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act program which provided a large infusion of capital and finally the expansion of the Rough Rock School model through Project Tribe. The Canadian equivalent is local control and the intentions in both are similar - that is development of pride and knowledge in Indian culture and languages and Indian control over the schools which served their children.

The Kennedy Report at the end of the decade made 60 recommendations. Its main value was to facilitate greatly increased appropriations for Indian education and the passing of legislation making it possible for Indian groups to exercise much more authority in the education field.[56]

Indian Education Act 1972

The Indian Education Act of 1972 was initiated by Congress in an effort to better the education standard of Indian Education. The U.S government decided over the years that it wished to re-establish the faith between themselves and the Indian community; the good faith that had existed at the very beginning of their encounters. The National Advisory Council on Indian Education. The Council of 15 (all Indian members) stated in their 1976 report that:

> The Indian Education Act of 1972, Public Law 92-318 is indisputably landmark legislation for Indian people. The intent of the Act is to fund programs to meet the special education needs of American Indian and Alaska Native children and adults. In addition the Act provides a unique opportunity for Indian parents to become involved with their children's education through participation on parent committees.[57]

The Act was initially undertaken by the U.S. Office of Education and is now administered and co-ordinated by the Secretary of Education with the Department of Education (commenced in May, 1980).[58] In a U.S. government publication called "Reformation in Progress" the officials claim their acceptance of their responsiblility for the education of Indians in America.[59] They came to a realization that Indian children did indeed have special education needs. The government became aware of the need to rectify this problem in order to better the Indians' relations with the school and its system. Congress proposed that funds become available to accommodate these special educational needs. Congress stated that Native needs could be satisfied in the future by the combined efforts of Parent Committees and Federal and Tribal governments. The new guidelines would supply funds in order to make the following improvements: (The Three Parts of the Act served these various needs.)

1) Courses on and off the reserve will meet students cultural needs (ideally) money would be supplied to improve school's teaching facilities, provide teacher training courses to increase per pupil expenditures. Parents would be encouraged to become an effectual part of their child's learnings.

2) Funds would be available for various education related projects and service agencies that would maintain an updated record of education improvements since implementation of the Education Act. The Act would entitle Indian graduates to special grants to further their studies, as well as special programs to gifted youth.

3) This part of the Act is geared towards the improvement of Indian education and skills in order to provide Indian students with marketable skills and thus equal opportunity on the job market. It is also concerned with the establishment of self-pride and self-actualization programs in schools.

The Act applies to people who are "Indians" in terms of the presently accepted definition of an "Indian" which has been determined by the State. The definition in turn determines one's eligibility under the newly devised plan.

For the purposes of this title the term "Indian" means any individual who, (1) is a member of a tribe, band or other organized group of Indians, including those tribes, bands or groups terminated since 1940 and those recognized by the State in which they reside, or who is a descendent, in the first or second degree of any such member or (2) is considered by the Secretary of the Interior to be an Indian for any purpose, or (3) is an Eskimo or Aleut or other Alaskan Native, or (4) is determined to be an Indian under regulations promulgated by the Commission (of Education) after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, which regulations shall further define the term Indian.[60]

Thus, one must determine ones eligibility status before considering submission of a project proposal. Once individual status is assessed, "the responsibility for individual Indians, regardless of background continues to be affirmed in the Indian Education Act...[61] Public schools with an enrollment of ten plus students of Indian descent can also apply for special funds in order to accommodate the needs of their Indian students. Indian organizations of various types may also apply for monies to create education related programs.

Native Education Statistics

The data and analysis that follow have been done with every effort to be consistent in the accumulation while utilizing constant parameters. Nonetheless,the fact that in certain cases the sources are diversified may result in statistical conclusions that would not be alike if the same statistical source with constant parameters had been used. On the other hand, we believe the data is as accurate as we can make and therefore we offer no apologies for our conclusions.

The American school system can be simplified and generalized into the following classifications:

FIGURE I

School Type	Age
Nursery School	3-4
Kindergarten	5-6
Elementary	6-12
Junior High	12-15
High School	15-18
Trade School	18+
University	18+
Postgraduate training	18+

When the Indian Education Act became law, the eighth grade was the average level of American Indians. The drop-out rate in high school averaged approximately 40 percent, while 25 percent of all Indian children started school without a knowledge of English.[62]

Table I shows the increase in native students over the decade of the 70's. The increase is equal to a 77 percent increase in attendance. Since Table V shows that in 1964, the number of Indian children attending elementary school was approximately 90% and that average daily attendance was 89 percent, the logical conclusion is the main increase over the ten year period, after subtracting the population increase, was in retention rates in secondary schools.

Although the increase in retention rates appears to be substantial, there continues to be serious problems. Table II illustrates the grade level behind the white majority population, the Indian Student is at a given grade. Thus by grade 12 the average Indian student is three grades behind in math and 2.6 years behind in English. The author of the analysis ascribes the difference to poor development of English comprehension at the lowest elementary level. The consequence of this poor initial formation is increasing difficulties with school the higher up the student rises. Hartman Lomawaima supports these results by observing that non-verbal tests prove to be more accurate when testing Indian children. The outcome of these early deficiencies in education, according to the author is a drop-out rate in high school which varies from 45% to 60%.

> Practically all native Americans between the ages of 6 and 17 inclusive, have access to schools and attend schools almost as fully, interims of proportions attending school by age, as do the Anglos, the Spanish descent groups and the blacks. The proportion of Indians who graduate from high schools is smaller than the proportion of all American students but it is more a matter of socio-economic status than of ethnicity, and the proportions in Indians graduating from high school is approximately the

> same as the proportions of other ethnic groups which have a similar socio-economic composition.[63]

Notwithstanding the pressures brought to bear on Indian students, the Bureau of Indian Affairs founded in 1972, 19,540 students in their schools, who had exceptional intelligence levels. Of that number 3,175 were provided with special service grants. By 1978 this number had increased to 4,500.

Tables IX, X and XI show specific area study results. The data shows highly variable drop-out rates according to centre of education. It tentatively supports the data in Table III which shows a greater tendency to remain in school in an urban area. However this is probably true of the majority population as well.

Raw measure and social indicator values on a national basis for a 16 year period are found in Tables XII, XIII and XIV. The focus is on the high school period. The tables show Indian students have shown a marked improvement in their overall tendency to remain in school beyond the elementary level over the 16 year period. Unfortunately, their retention rate relative to the majority population has in fact deteriorated. In other words, although a lot more Indian students are staying and finishing high school, there has been an even greater increase among the majority population.

Thus, the non-attendance rate of American native students was 2.80 times greater than the majority populace. Their high school completion rate was 20% below the latter group while the delayed education rate of native students was 3.20 times greater.

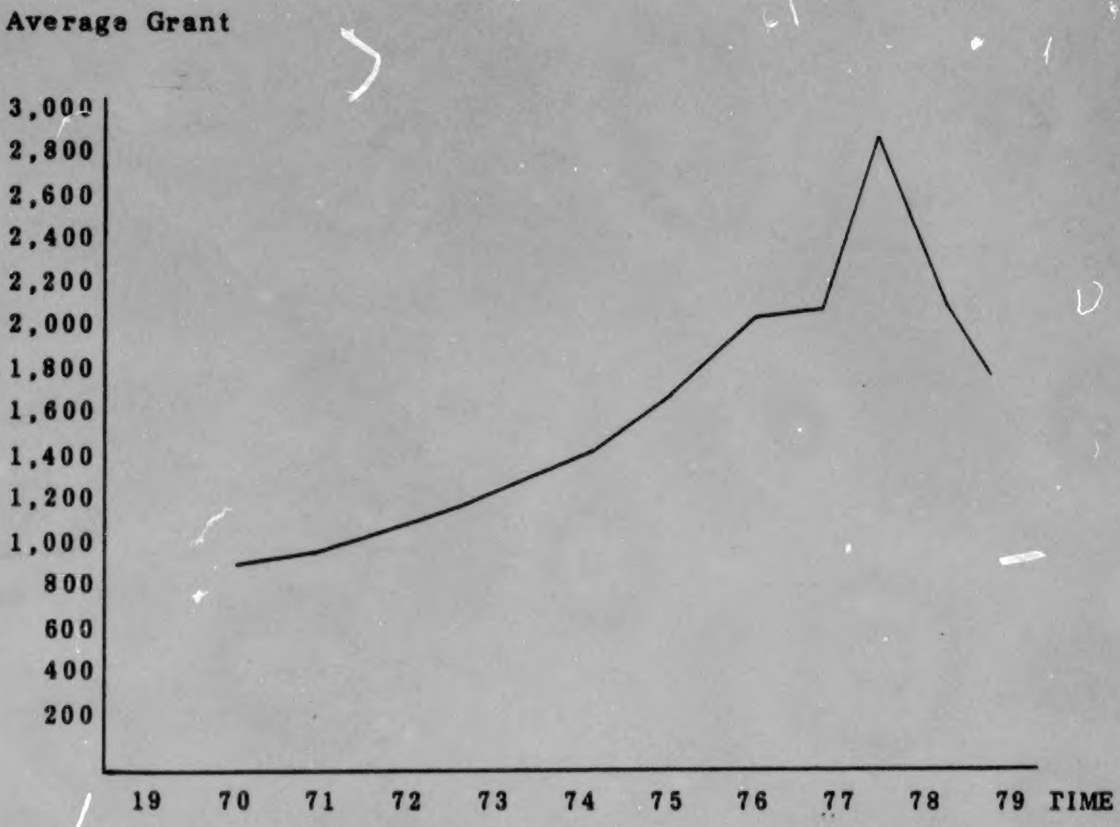
The objective of Indian educators should be to equal, or surpass the statistical performance of the majority population while at the same time providing the important Indian cultural values necessary for self-development.

The above statistics indicate that for Indian students to pass through the first two levels of school is a major achievement relative to the majority population. Yet in the fall 1976, there were 76,367 American Indians and Alaskan native students enrolled in institutes of higher education. Of that number, 3,920 were doing post-graduate work.[64] In 1978 the total number had increased to 77,885 students in post-secondary education while there was a slight drop in post-graduate studies to 3,786.[65] Table XV provides the relevant statistics. The most interesting observation to be made based on these figures, other than the overall decline, is that Indian women in 1978 outnumbered men in all categories except for professional and graduate schools. It may only be matter of time before they dominate at these levels as well.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1978 provided $40,000,000 in grants, averaging $2,000 per grant for post-secondary education. The following year this total and average amounts dropped substantially to $26,575,600 and $1,527 respectively.[66] The general trend until 1978 had been upwards as can be seen in Graph II. But since then the decline in funding has been dramatic. This decline is exacerbated by the inflation rate that has plagued the U.S. economy over the period involved.

GRAPH II

ANNUAL FUNDING



Source: BIA Statistics, 1980, (Washington: U.S. Printing Office)

The above trends both in the funding and the decline in attendance cannot be shown here to be directly related although it is a hypothesis worth considering. The trend, if it is shown to continue, should be a serious concern for American Indian leaders and educations.

The foregoing statistics have demonstrated that over the last twenty years, the total number of Indian children going to and remaining in school has increased dramatically. However, the Indian people still have a long way to go from the primary level through to higher levels of education. The final table, Table XVI was calculated by Dr. Dean Chavers, President of Bacone College, Bacone, Oklahoma. It provides a rough idea of the still large efforts required by the American Indian people in the field of education.

Table I

Fiscal Year	Students Enrolled In School 5-18
1970	185,587[A]
1971	----------
1972	----------
1973	231,147*[B] (by federal funded districts)
1974	288,894*[C](federal funded districts)
1975	344,495*[D](by federal funded districts)
1976	216,168*[E](total enumerated)
1977	----------
1978	275,600[F]
1979	----------
1980	329,430[G](public,elementary secondary)

[A] Maclean, Hope, A review of Indian Education in North America, (Toronto: reprinted by Printage, 1973)

[B] The Indian Education Act of 1972, (Washington: U.S. Office of

Education Government Printing Office, 1975).

[C] Ibid

[D] Ibid

[E] Sourcebook of Equal Educational Opportunity 3rd ed., (Chicago Ill., Marquis Academic Media, 1979).

[F] The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

[G] Digest of Education Statistics(Washington,1981)

Table II

1978

GRADE LEVEL BEHIND WHITE STUDENTS

Minority Group	Verbal	Reading Achievement	Math Achievement
Indian			
Grade 6	1.3	1.8	1.8
Grade 9	1.4	1.9	2.1
Grade 12	2.5	2.6	3.0

*English comprehension never fully achieved in early years hence with increased difficulty in lesson material, increased comprehension difficulties prevail.

Table III

1971

Average Grades Completed	(Indian) Reserve	(Indian) Urban
	8.0	10.6

Table IV

Indian Students

1969 - Draw a Man Intelligence Test (elementary) 17,000 students -- IQ of 101.5 (greater than whites)

1942 - Non verbal intelligence tests -- samples from 6 tribes (elementary) IQ of 100.2 (average)

*Non verbal tests prove to be more accurate when testing Indian children. They are less discriminating in the question types.

Table V

1964 - Elementary Indian Children	Enumerated Attending School	School Average Daily Attendance
	90%	89.3%

6 of 10 in Public School

*seems to accord high attendance to enrollment in public school.

Table VI

1964	Federal High Schools Students	Entered High School 100%	School Grad's 71.8%
1976	Drop Rate Before High School Grad	45 - 60% of total	

Table VII

1978

Indian Children 6-17yrs. old	Enrollment	% Of Total Group
A) Schools with practically all Indian enrollment	47,000	17%
BIA operated boarding day schools;		
Indian Controlled School Boards;		
Contract with DIA (estimate)	2,500	1%
Mission or other (private)	9,000	3%
Public School on/near reserve	30,000	11%
B) Public schools with 50-90% Indian enrollment continguous to Indian reserve or in native community	105,000	38%
C) Public schools with 10 to 50% Indian enrollment; mainly in rural communities and small cities	50,000	18%
D) Public schools with 1 - 10% Indian enrollment mainly in large cities	30,000	11%

Practically all native Americans between the ages of 6 and 17 inclusive have access to schools and attend schools almost as fully, in terms of proportions attending school by ages, as do the Anglos, the Spanish descent groups and the blacks. The proportion of Indians who graduate from high schools is smaller than the proportion of all American students but it is more a matter of socio-economic status than of ethnicity, and the proportions of Indians graduation from high school is approximately the same, as the proportions of other ethnic groups which have similar socio-economic income composition.

Source: The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Indians Today.

Table VIII

BIA Survey	BIA School Children
1972	19,540 students found to have exceptional intelligence levels. 3,715 of this total were given special service on behalf of BIA.
1975	4,500 exceptional government special service grants from BIA.
1978	Indian drop-outs in North Western states 38-60%

Source: Background paper on American Indian Exceptional Children, 1976 by Bruce Raminez.

Table IX

1978

States	Indian Students % Drop Outs
Nome, Alaska	90% (from public schools)
Minneapolis	62%
Klamath, Oregon	90%
Minnesota	45%-78% (through out)
California	70% (parts of California)

Table X

Southwestern Alaska Bilingual Program (1970)

Note - method approved by John Price in 1981 interview.

Drorvik - Begins teaching native language as primary and English as second language. Years continue and more English is learned. Program proves effective.

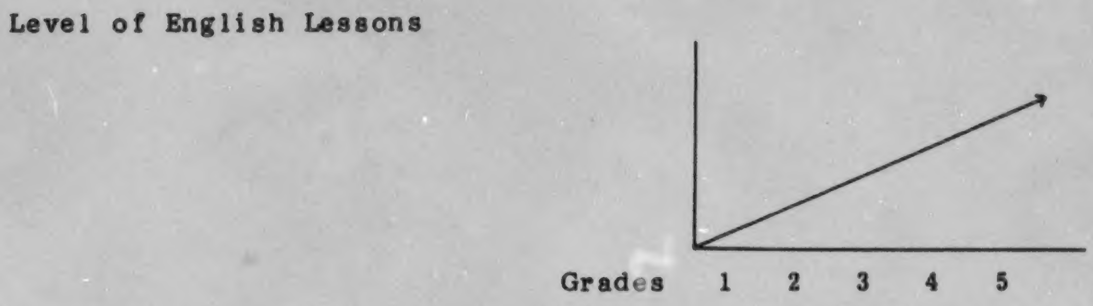


Table XI

Byrde studied Sioux, Indian Children 1977. He noted intelligence levels and achievement levels of Indian children.

Grade	Normal Intelligence	Lower Achievement
3	Yes	Yes*
4		No higher
12		Yes (2 years lag)**

*Noted 1/2 to 1 1/2 year lag at end of grade

**results from conflicting values and lack of self-pride and language problems ie. comprehension

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Table XII

(Raw Measure)*

American Indians	High School Non-Attend.			Social Indicator Value		
	1960	1970	1976	(ratios raw measure to majority male pop)		
A) Males	29	15	14	1.61	1.67	2.80
B) Females	24	16	14	1.33	1.78	3.00

*% of 15,16,17 year olds not enrolled in April 1.

(Raw Measure)

Majority	High School Non-Attend.			Social Indicator Value		
	1960	1970	1976	1960	1970	1976
A) Males	18	09	05	1.00	1.00	1.00
B) Females	12	08	06	67	89	1.20

(i) p.371 "Although most groups have reduced their non-attendance rates since 1960 and even since 1970, relative to majority males, many of the groups have not improved their likelihood of being in school."

(ii)p.372 "In 1976 the high non-attendance rate for American Indian and Alaskan Native males was 2.8 times greater than the rate for majority males.

(iii) Female figures for both majority and native groups are comparable to the male raw measure with 1976 representations showing a rise in non-attandance for females of 20%. Native women confronted by two variables in order to achieve ratio of 3.00; being Indian and being female.

Table XIII

High School Completion (raw measure)				**Social Indicator Values** (ratio of raw measure to majority male population)		
Males	1960	1970	1976	1960	1970	1976
A)Indian	33	58	70	.48	.70	.80
B)Majority	69	83	87	1.00	1.00	1.00
Females						
A)Indian	29	56	58	.42	.67	.67
B)Majority	70	82	86	1.01	.99	.99

*% of persons 20-24 years old who have completed school

(i) "In 1976 high school completion rate for American Indian and Alaskan Native males was 80 percent of, (or 20% below) the completion rate for majority males."

(ii) p.373 Male and female American Indians show a marked increase in school completion between 1960 and 1976 but they are not substantial increases compared to the majority male and female increases. Indian males show consecutively high increases from 1960 to 1976. Females show relatively no increase from 1970 to 1976 and in fact are substantially lower than their male counterparts.

(iii) Although education is improving (due to increase funds, public schooling and Indian - run schools), it seems that some educational needs are not being met. Indian students should be at par with the majority students but this is not the case.

Table XIV

1976

	Delayed Education			Social Indicator Values (ratio of raw measures to majority male population		
	1960	1970	1976	1960	1970	1976
Males						
Indian	45	35	32	2.50	2.92	3.20
Majority	10	06	07	.56	.50	.70

*% of persons 15,16,17 years of age in or below model grade.(April 1)

(1) in 1976 the delayed education rate for American Indian and Alaskan native males was 3.20 times greater than the rate of majority males."p.369

(ii) "Although the delay rates have declined for these groups, in 1976, 25 percent or more of American Indian/Alaskan natives... and females were still 2 or more years behind the normal grade level for their ages."p.369

(iii) "Although virtually every group showed improvements that were substantial, most of the improvements were proportionately less than that exhibited by majority males."p.370

**Refer to Chart on standard age groups in relation to grade and the U.S. educational system. (Another interpretation of the comparative difference between Indian students in respective grades and their English American fellow students.)

Table XV

TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGH EDUCATION, BY LEVEL OF ENROLLMENT, SEX AND ATTENDANCE STATUS OF STUDENTS FOR THE AMERICAN/INDIAN ALASKAN NATIVE

ALL STUDENTS

		MEN		WOMEN	
	TOTAL	FULL TIME	PART TIME	FULL TIME	PART TIME
1976	76,367	22,845	15,787	20,375	17,360
1978	77,885	19,954	16,883	20,694	20,354

UNDERGRADUATES

		MEN		WOMEN	
	TOTAL	FULL TIME	PART TIME	FULL TIME	PART TIME
1976	61,390	19,911	10,918	18,518	12,043
1978	61,469	17,459	11,619	18,791	13,600

FIRST PROFESSIONAL

		MEN		WOMEN	
	TOTAL	FULL TIME	PART TIME	FULL TIME	PART TIME
1976	1,321	1,020	57	213	31
1978	1,072	733	69	242	28

GRADUATE

		MEN FULL TIME	PART TIME	WOMEN FULL TIME	PART TIME
	TOTAL				
1976	3,920	940	1,264	651	1,065
1978	3,786	863	1,183	678	1,062

UNCLASSIFIED

		MEN FULL TIME	PART TIME	WOMEN FULL TIME	PART TIME
	TOTAL				
1976	9,736	974	3,548	993	4,221
1978	11,558	889	4,012	983	5,664

*Fall Enrollment in High Education - Final Report
National Centre of Education Statistics 1976 and 1978

TABLE XVI

Needed: Indian Professionals

Dr. Dean Chavers, President of Bacone College, Bacone, Oklahoma, prepared a chart showing the number of Indians in each profession compared to the total in the United States. These statistics are as of February 1979.

FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION	TOTAL INDIANS	TOTAL U.S.	NEEDED FOR PARITY
MEDICINE			
Medical Doctor(MD)	125	340,000	1,435
Dentist (DDS)	6	120,000	546
Nurse(RN)	644	750,000	2,796
Veterinarian (DVM)	3	30,000	137
Podiatrist (DPM)	2	7,120	31
Pharmacist	30	125,000	543
Speech Pathology	10	16,000	63
Optometrist	12	19,265	76
Psychiatrist	18	17,383	62
SOCIAL WORK	250	?	?
Masters	25	?	?
BUSINESS			
(All Fields)	75	?	?
ENGINEERING			
(All Fields)			
Bachelor Degree Holders	140	1,115,000	4,975
Master's and Ph.D.	14	19,165	38
Ph.D. (All Fields)	40	600,000	2,712
Psychology	14	40,000	171
SOCIOLOGY	2	?	?
Attorney	150	460,000	1,960
Teachers	3,534	1,995,057	518

Source: Statistics from the Ford Foundation, The Association of American Indian Physicians, The American Indian Nurses Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Navajo Health Authority, the American Indian Lawyer Training Program, the National Society of American Indian

Engineers, the United Indian Development Association, the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business, the Scientific Manpower Commission, The National Fund for Minority Engineering Students, the National Consortium for Graduate Degrees for Minorities in Engineering, the American Speech and Hearing Association, the American Psychological Association, the National Education Association, National Centre for Education Statistics, American Psychiatric Association, American Association of Colleges of Podiatric Medicine and the American Sociological Association - Smoke Signals.

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Evaluation

The statistics describe the present successes and failures in a numerical way. They don't provide explanations and/or solutions.

Madison Coombs, former Deputy Assistant for Education and Director of Educational Research writes in the Task Force Report the following:

> Criticism of the education of Indians usually was of two kinds; first, the legitimate complaints of overemphasis on acculturation, the neglect of Indian cultural materials in the curriculum, the shortage of Indians in the instructional force, the large number of Indian pupils in boarding schools, and the lack of an Indian voice in running the schools. ...Concern about the education of Indians was most often expressed in terms of educational deficit; their low educational attainment in terms of years of schooling, their low achievement tests, their high ratio of drop-out from school, the low percentage of high school graduates enrolling college, the low college graduation rate, and sometimes the low self-concept of Indian students. These two lists of things were mentioned together so repeatedly that the idea of a cause and effect relationship took hold; that the if the first list of things were eliminated, the education deficits would disappear or at least would disappear more rapidly. There was no real evidence to support that conclusion.[67]

Mr. Coombs cites the Coleman Report whose results were in general supported by Robert Havighurst, the Director of the National Study of Indian Education. Their conclusions suggest that the statistical deficits, as presented in the previous section, were common to all disadvantaged groups in the United States. Among Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians, the report found American Indians to be the highest achievers. Coombs writes, "He (Coleman), concluded that the deficits were a product of the total society in which they had grown up and not primarily of the schools, although he concluded further that the disadvantaged students were far more independent on the school for help than more favoured students."[68]

The assessment is one man's opinion. His recommendation that greater understanding is necessary between educational theorists and the implementors of policy - the teachers and administrators. Jeannette C. Smith is more specific in her recommendations for remedying the problems:

> a) she believes that the bureacracy demands too much accountability from teachers, that is the latter are overburdened by forms and regulations required by the former. She urges the process be reversed, that the administrators be there to support the requirements of the teachers.
>
> b) Ms. Smith's second recommendation is that politics be removed from the classroom. She believes emphasis is often placed on the Indian child as a political entity rather than an individual who requires the development of his/her individual competencies into marketable skills.
>
> c) she strongly recommends the parents of Indian students be listened to rather than be paid lip service. They have a greater understanding of the needs and desires of their children than the teachers and administrators do.[69]

Undoubtedly, there are many who would criticize one or all of Ms. Smith's recommendations, as there are many who would take issue with Mr. Coombs' observations and conclusions. The critics unquestionably have their recommendations, as do other specialists. For example the report by Jesse Rebier and Associates recommended greater development of local control and utilizing the child's cultural and language skills. The report suggests the following as long term recommendations:

> Currently Indian education depends on a large number of bills passed at different times and leaving many gaps in the programme grid. The

> task force thus recommended a comprehensive education bill insuring quantity and quality of services to Indian people. In relation to this policy, guidelines were called for which would reaffirm the commitment of the Congress to meeting the educational needs of the Indian people. Finally, Congress was called upon to support and finance a declared policy of Indian community control of all aspects of Indian education. The right and obligation of the Indian people to an education should be fulfilled by Congress and the Federal Government.[70]

Whatever individual's opinions are toward the above evaluation and recommendations, there is considerable similarity in intent to demands made by Canadian Indian education leaders to their federal government.

Canada-U.S.

The United States has approximately 880,000 Indians as defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This represents 0.4% of the total population.[71] Canada has a status Indian population of 300,000 as defined by the Department of Indian Affairs which represents 1.3% of the total population. However, the Canadian definition appears to be considerably more rigid.

> Indian means a person who pursuant to this act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian.[72]

There are in Canada more than double the status Indians if all non-status, status, Metis, and Inuit are included.[73] The U.S. definition of an Indian would probably increase the Canadian Indian population by a large margin.[74] Nevertheless, even using the presently defined population, they still represent more than three times in percentage terms the ratio of Indian to majority population in comparison to the same ratio in the U.S.

Yet although, the theoretical political pressure should be greater in Canada because of its larger relative size; in education, at any rate, the reverse seems to be true. Clive

Linklater, ex-Vice President of the National Indian Brotherhood in Canada, once remarked that whatever the U.S. did for its Indians, Canada did ten years later.

Thus, the effort to completely assimilate Indians by Congress in the early fifties was tried by the Canadian federal government with its 1968 White paper, both proved to be failures and galvanized political action by the Indian people. The development of the Rough Rock school in the mid-sixties which was an experiment in Indian control of Indian education (already proved successful by the Five Civilized Tribes of 100 years earlier), was followed by the Blue Quills school in Alberta in the early 70's. These are but two examples that tend to support Mr. Linklater's opinion.

Comparing statistical data is risky because the parameters are sometimes different. Having said that, there are some striking comparisons which no parameters can hide. For example, although both in the U.S. and Canada, the attendance rates in pre-primary and primary school are similar and approximately equal to the majority population, the difference in high school retention rates are wide. In Canada, in 1976 only 20% of the Indian children finished grade 12, one quarter the national rate. In the U.S. for the same year, the completion rate is 70% or twenty percent below the completion rate for majority males. Albeit, the parameters are different for the two studies.[75] Nevertheless, the difference between the two groups is extreme and cannot be fully explained by the criteria. Furthermore, the Canadian survey admits that the level of university enrollment by Indian people is a function of the retention rates in secondary school.

Rough calculations suggest college enrollment for Indian students in the U.S. in 1976 was 9%.[76] In 1975, in Canada, it was a little over 5%. This was one-half the national level. The only statistic available for the U.S. is the college completion rate which for American Indians and Alaskan native males was 24% or 76% below the rate for majority men.

It would appear from the above, taken with restraint, that the problem in Canada is at the high school level whereas in the U.S., it would appear to be between high school and university. Further statistical comparisons become ever more suspect with present data.

A legislative comparison at least in terms of quantity again provides wide disparity. Sections 114-123 of the Indian Act plus Article 4.3 of the same act, cover for all intents and purposes the legislative side of Indian education in Canada.[77] The Indian Act and some sections on education have been substantially the same for over 100 years.

In the U.S. during the decade of the 1970's the following legislation took place:

> 1) 1972-Indian Education Act (Title IV of the Education Amendment of 1972, P.L. 92-18)
> - recognized the special education needs of native Americans by establishing an Office of Indian Education and a National Advisory Council on Indian Education.
>
> 2) 1975-Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act (P.L. 93-638)
> - intended to promote Indian self-determination.
>
> 3) P.L. 93-580-American Indian Policy Review Commission
> - established January 2, 1975, reported in May 1977, strongly recommending tribal autonomy.[78]
>
> 4)P.L. 95-49-Tribally controlled Community Colleges Assistance Act created by Indian groups
>
> - intended to establish their own authorizing language.
>
> 5) P.L. 95-561-amendments to the Elementary Secondary Education Act
> - increased Indian influence in the areas of federal impact aid and mandated the BIA to undertake studies on ways of improving Indian education.[79]

Strictly from the point of view of enactments, the U.S. demonstrated far greater dynamism than Canada, but legislation does not guarantee reality and the authors of the review from whence the legislation was cited acknowledge the bureaucratic inertia and financial constraints have slowed the processes intended by the legislation.

In Canada, a verbal commitment by the then Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretian, to support Indian control of Indian education was as far as the legal process went. There has been a slow process to grant greater autonomy to Indian bands but the Indian people in Canada confront the same bureaucratic inertia and complaints of financial constraint.

Nonetheless, Dr. Robert J. Swan, Chairperson of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education is positive about developments in the U.S. over the last ten years and by extension, the future.

> The 70's, as pointed out by many Indian leaders, can be declared as the most important decade for Indian people in terms of legislation, appropriations, and commitments from the U.S. Congress...in Indian Education...New legislation and increased appropriations made it possible for Indian people to begin to plan our educational programs, set educational priorities and to commence to meet our education needs that have historically been neglected by the federal government.[80]

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AUSTRALIA

INTRODUCTION

Australia is the lowest and flatest of the world's land masses. The country is located around the 30th parallel in the South Pacific Ocean. Due to its location Australia has an arid climate. It should be mentioned that Australia is classified as a continent, its size extends 4,007 kilometers from east to west and 3,154 kilometers from north to south. Australia has a total area of 7,682,3000 kilometers.[1]

By reasons of size and climate, Australia is sparsely populated with a density of two people per square kilometer of land. About 64.5% of the population live in urban centers of 100,000 people or more.[2] The total population of Australia was 14,249,000 in 1978 and from 1970-1978 the average annual growth rate was 1.7% a year.[3]

Australia is considered to be a developed nation. According to the World Bank, Australia is quite a wealthy nation with an average per capita income in 1978 of $7,920.00. This figure is based on the Gross National Product during 1978 which was $113,800,000,000.[4]

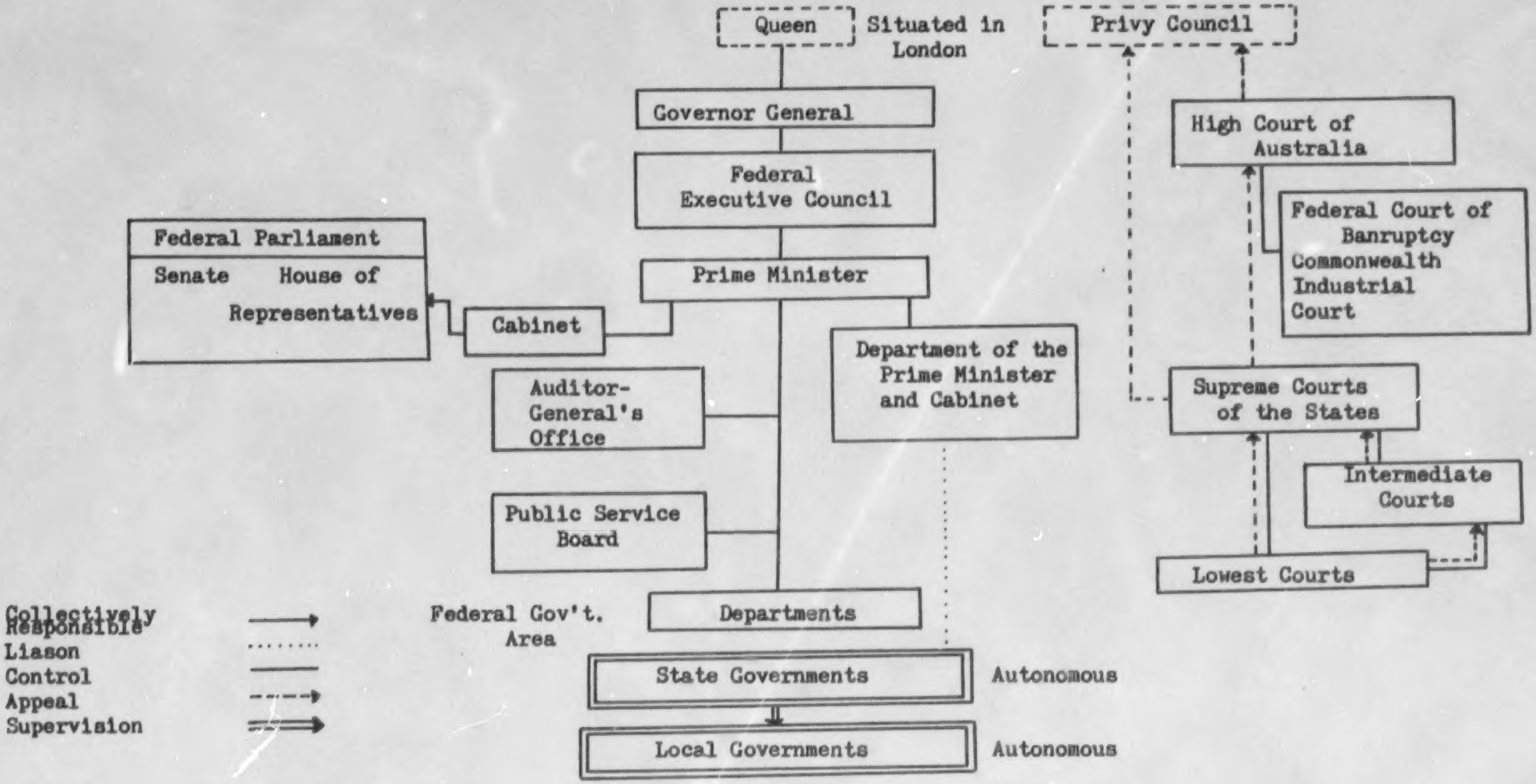
The political foundations and procedures are in the Western Democratic made parallel to the British and North American systems.

The Australian government was federally organized under the Commonwealth constitution (Federal Constitution) of 1901.[5] Basically the government is a three tiered structural system. Affairs of national interest are the responsibility of the Australian Parliament and National Government.

The six state governments and legislatures have responsibilities within their own boundaries which complement the activities of

DIAGRAM I

Federal Government of Australia


Queen
Situated in London
Privy Council
Governor General
Federal Executive Council
Prime Minister
Federal Parliament
Senate
House of Representatives
Cabinet
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet
Auditor-General's Office
Public Service Board
Departments
Federal Gov't. Area
State Governments
Autonomous
Local Governments
Autonomous
High Court of Australia
Federal Court of Banruptcy
Commonwealth Industrial Court
Supreme Courts of the States
Intermediate Courts
Lowest Courts
Collectively Responsible
Liason
Control
Appeal
Supervision

Source: Australia, An Introduction, (Canberra: Australian Information Service, 1981) the national government. However the High Court of Australia is the ulitmate interpreter of the Australian Constitution.

There are about 900 local government bodies concerned with matters of local or regional nature, at the city, town, municipality and shire level.

> The Australian Parliament formed by the Federation of Australian States has powers laid down in the written constitution which can be changed only be referendum and then only if a majority of voters in at least four of the six states, as well as on overall majority favour it. State parliaments are subject to the provisions of both their own constitution and the Australian Constitution. The division of powers between the Australian and State Parliaments follows the American model, the power to be excerised by the federal authorities being specified, with all other powers left to the State.[6]

The federal law, if valid, predominates over any State Law not consistent with it. The Federal Government's responsibilities cover foreign policy, defence, immigration, customs and excise, external affairs communication, monetary printing, social services, industrial arbitration and the Territories. It also collects taxes and allocates funds to the States.

The States areas of concern include education, transportation, law inforcement, health services and agriculture. An important development in Australian politics has been the intensified involvement by the national government in various states administered fields which include education, housing, transportation, health services and Aboriginal affairs.[7]

> Australia retains close Constitutional ties with Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations. Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain, is also the Queen of Australia and is represented in Australia by the Governor - General (at the national level) and by six State Governors. The Governor General is the Chief of State and formally The Chief Executive. The six State Governors perform a similar role in the States.[8]

Aboriginal Culture

The aboriginal are a dark skinned race of hunters and food gathers. It is believed they arrived in Australia from Asia at least 30,000 years ago., It is estimated there were 300,000 Aborigines at the time of European settlement. The Aborigines were widely dispersed in small nomadic families or tribal groups throughout the whole continent. However, the majority were attracted to the better watered country of the coastal fringe.

The Aborigine prior to the arrival of white settler was one with his environment. His needs and possessions were simple but his culture was rich and complex. The interrelationship was evoked in a system of beliefs. Their creed was realized in oral literature, songs, dances, and social relationships.[9]

Traditional aboriginal belief held that man's presence in Australia was the result of Creative Activity by the Dreamtime Beings.

The 300,000 Aboriginals at the time of initial contact with Europeans were divided into about 600 land-owning and linguistically diverse groups, speaking approximately 700 dialects derived from over 200 separate and distinct languages.[10]

Even though the Aboriginal life-style was based on a hunter-gatherer economy, their keen knowledge of their environment allowed for an existence beyond the level of subsistence. Moreover, this existence was conducted within a well-defined land area that belonged to the nomadic family or tribe. When they went into this area, it was with the consent of the neighbouring land-owning group. The land was all-important, as Barlow states, "An understanding of the relationship between aboriginals and land (nature-everything) is the key to understanding aboriginal culture."

Tribal knowledge was passed on from one generation to the next. Through literature, songs, dances, and social relationships man shared a common life principle with animals, birds and plants. Education taught that man was a part of nature and at the same time attributed human characteristics to natural phenomenon, animals and plants. This view of the integration with nature was expressed in the ceremonial life. The importance of ceremony was enhanced by everyone being involved in the preparation of social rituals. These rituals would often be performed outside of their nomadic hunting range. The ceremonies would be held within the "ritual estate", whose perimeters could be much wider than their economic "estate".[11]

The tribe within an "economic estate" varied from 100 to 1500. However the tribe was dispersed into family units. The family was the basic self-sufficient economic unit with a rigid division of labour based on sex. Several related families associated and ranged within understood territorial limits. The men hunted, while the women foraged.

The Aboriginal family can be described as follows:

> Aboriginals had one of the most complex kinship systems in the world. Family relationships extended throughout an entire tribe. A classification kinship system was used with a limited number of relationship terms extending to cover all people. A definitive code of behaviours was prescribed for each class of them. Aboriginals lived securely in their systems of family and kin relationship. Through these systems they can locate themselves precisely within their social milieu, identify themselves and their status in their society and determine those behaviours which are acceptable in their inter-personal relationship. It is also possible to establish relationships with strangers outside ones immediate social group and to integrate them into ones own relationship network.[12]

There were no Chiefs or rulers in the Aboriginal society. The elders who guarded the social and religious rules were chosen because of their skill as hunters as well as their wisdom and maturity. The elders were the history, law and culture books of their society.

After Contact

Although Asian, and possibly Arab seafarers may have visited Australia, there is little evidence of it. The first recorded landing in Australia of a European was William Johannson, a Dutch mariner in 1606. Although other seaborne voyagers came and went, including some who charted parts of the coast, interest was never sustained.

Renewed interest in Australia was stirred about 1768 when British navigator Captain James Cook was given the ship Endeavor to take a party of scientists to Tahiti.

After Tahiti, he intentionally located New Zealand and then New Holland or Australia in 1770. He named the south east coast New South Wales and suggested it had great potential for settlement. At this time relations with the indigenous population were generally friendly.

With the establishment of the United States, Australia was given the questionable honour of being the dumping ground for British convicts. The first colonialists landed in 1788 and established a settlement on the present location of Sydney.[13]

Initially the British government intended to establish a few penal colonies. It hoped to maintain a peaceful relationship with the aboriginal inhabitants near the colonies, while those further away would be left undisturbed. But the settlements continued to expand. Almost inevitably the effect of the continuing expansion was the destruction of the aboriginals hunting grounds, watering holes and ceremonial sites. This in turn disrupted the complex aboriginal way of life. This was further aggravated by white mans disease. The aboriginal population was decimated. Between 1800 and 1830 the indigenous population dropped from 4,000 to 500 in Tasmania, and in 30 years after a colony was established in Victoria the population dropped from 10,000 to 2,000.[14]

Policies

The history of Aboriginal policy was four fold, first extermination, then neglect on the assumption they would die a slow death (disintegration) then protection and finally assimilation.

Extermination

The sharp drop in the Aboriginal population that was not due alone to a passive white encroachment on Aboriginal lands. There was an aggressive attack on the Aborigines. They were portrayed as fierce savages and natural enemy of the white man.

The Colonial Times of 1831 reported that "The government must remove the native, if not, they will be hunted down like beasts and destroyed."[15] The fact that no aborigines were left on Tasmania testifies to the truth of this statement. Early Governors of Australia allowed farmers and bushmen almost complete freedom to murder and rape; and occasionally the Governors provided assistance.

The fact that the 1837 British House of Commons Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes had stateD "The native inhabitants of any land have an uncontrovertible right to their own soil" seems to have been completely ignored by both the populace and local officials.[16]

Unlike North America, treaties were never made, sovereignty was assumed by proclamation and possession was established by the settlers occupation of the land.[17]

Thus the aborigine was driven from his fertile lands -- the essence of his social, both individual and collective, existence.

Disintegration

After the failure of the "extermination syndrome", it was followed by an attitude of neglect based on the belief that the aborigines would die out.

This neglect arose frm lack of fear. As soon as an aboriginal tribe had been reduced to a small number by violence and peace established, the aborigine's spirit was broken and he became dependent on the local white people. It was believed that Darwin's theory of Natural Selection was also applicable to society.

In line with this philosophy, reserves were established as far away from white settlements as possible. This would protect the individual aborigine and no more. Christian missionaries were left to be responsible for the reserves, although their major concern was converting them to Christianity. Death decreased, dependance increased.

Protection

By the mid-nineteenth century most states had responsible government. Laws were enacted to "protect"the Aborigines. These became progressively discriminatory and restrictive, including legal definitions of "Aborigine". The laws were also destructive. When Captain Cook landed in Australia, it has been estimated there were 300,000 indigenous people, a little over 100 years later, 1901, the population had dropped to 66,950.

Those who were not full-blood were allowed to mingle with the white population as second class citizens in the hope that their "aboriginity" would be bred out through intermingling. As late as 1968, the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs expressed support for the policy of breeding out.

The policy of protection was designed in fact as a policy to protect Australian society from the Aboriginal. The inherent paternalism of this policy has led to deep seated resentment. Many aborigines are very bitter about the loss of their land, seen in areas set aside as "reserves" for them.

> The residents have no property rights and they take no part in deciding how the stations shall be run. In a sense they do not really belong on the reserves because they do not belong to the reserves or the reserves to them.[19]

Assimilation

Eventually the government altered its objectives for the indigenous population to assimilation. Assimilation can be interpreted as the altering of self-image and self-indentification to conform to the life-style, values and beliefs of the dominant society, Such as policy infers a subtle institutional racism by assuming the inferiority of the minority's values and the superiority of the dominant group. A more formal definition of assimilation reads:

The policy of assimilation seeks that all persons of Aboriginal descent will choose to attain a similar manner and standard of living to other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community, enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, and influenced by the same hopes and loyalties as other Australians. Any special measures taken are regarded as temporary measures not based on race, but intended to meet their need for special assistance and care and to make the transmission from one stage to another in such a way as will be favourable to their social, economic and political achievement.[20]

Nonetheless the first overt expression of the assimilation policy was in 1911 by Sir William MacGregor, the federal authority in the Northern Territory. He agreed that the Aborigines were not a dying race but rather British subjects who should be trained to be able to excerise their rights if they were incapable. Further, the responsibility was the government's to ensure their rights. In 1939, J. McEwen adopted the proposals of Sir William MacGregor. He did this by accepting the concept of educating the aboriginals, and of raising their status to that of full citizenship over a period of time. The fact that in 1931 a conference had supported the concept of segregation and breeding out and that there had been a massacre of Aborigines in 1928 at Alice Springs, indicates the major policy reversal in the period. The intention was now to emphasize social assimilation rather than racial absorption.

Labour shortages of World War II at the battlefront and on the homefront probably did as much to promote the status of the Aborigine for himself as well as the dominant population.

For example, aboriginals have increasingly become eligible for various state and Commonwealth social assistance plans. Since the war in 1948 the Nationality and Citizenship Act gave aboriginals citizenship and section 39 of the Commonwealth Electoral Act of 1948, gave aboriginals the right to vote in Commonwealth elections if they could vote in the state elections of the state in which they resided.[21]

For the first time since the coming of the Europeans, the aboriginal population was on the increase.

The Commonwealth and State ministers met to discuss Native Welfare in 1951. They resolved that Aborigines:

> ...shall attain the same manner of living as other Australians, enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and being influenced by the same hopes, beliefs and loyalties.[22]

In 1965 the Aboriginal Welfare Council of Ministers and Council, made a modification on the concept of assimilation.

> The policy of assimilation seeks that all persons of aboriginal descent will choose to attain a similar manner of living to that of other Australians.[23]

The World Council of Churches commented on this change:

> ...The Aborigines were theoretically given the right to choose to be Australian but at a practical level it prevents choices, such as ownership of land like white Australians, being made. In essence the policy of eliminating the Aboriginal problem by eliminating the Aborigines remains - cultural genocide.[24]

Although Aboriginal Affairs is now a federal responsibility as a result of 1967 referendum, policy is still fundamentally a state decision, with the federal government providing money on request.

In recent years legislation has shown tentative trends towards greater expression of aboriginal desires. However lack of money and a still generally negative attitude by the majority towards such self-assertion are major stumbling blocks.[25]

According to the 1976 census there are 160,915 Aboriginals in Australia, or half the number of status Indians in Canada. A definition of an Aborigine is imprecise. Until 1967, responsibility for Aboriginal affairs lay exclusively with the states and territories. Thus a definition varied and continues to vary from one state or territory to the next. In general a definition a Aborigine seems to be determined by whether a person is full blood or mixed blood and is identifiable as an Aborigine, all others, mixed blood or not, being considered part of the majority population.

What follows in the next few pages is a brief description of present legislation affecting the indigenous people in Australia. For a more complete analysis of the legislation, see Glen Rivard.[26] The assessment is the author's personal opinion.

STATES	DOCUMENT	IMPLICATIONS	ASSESSMENT
QUEENSLAND	Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Act, 1965	divided into two categories	
		definition of Aborigine was primarily racial	
		part Aborigine was also racial (defn)	-definition is at the discretion of the state
		the act was not designed to establish power nor did it seek and affect all aborigines	
		the act sought only to provide a minimal level of protection for Aborigines	
		one could have been defined as Aborigine or part Aborigine yet not be affected unless they were an assisted Aborigine	
		Aborigines resident on a reserve are considered assisted Aborigines in need of assistance (monetary and otherwise)	
		reliance was placed on the subjective opinion of the Director or Magistrate whether a person requires protection	
		lack of criteria in defining an 'assisted Aborigine' was an abdication of the responsibilities by the legislature	-irresponsible, and procrastination
		disenfranchisement was possible only in	

STATES	DOCUMENT	IMPLICATIONS	ASSESSMENT
		the opinion of the Director	
		definition of Torres Strait Islanders had more racial elements	
		separated the administration of the two indigenous groups	
		Department of Aboriginal Affairs provides criteria which gives a person a right to reside on a reserve 'assist Aborigine' is abolished	-Act is primarily designed to deal with Aborigines living on reserve - few provisions to Aborigines off reserve
		permit needed to live on the reserve can be revoked AA	-blatant oppression
QUEENSLAND	Aboriginal Act 71 Torres Strait Islanders Act 1971	the criteria for inclusion in a reserve group does not include prima facie criteria	
		most Aborigines apply for admittance none are considered to have a prima facie right to live in this group *white administrator have this prima facie right	
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Aboriginal Affairs Act	division of Aboriginals into two groups full-blooded Aboriginal; half breed person of aboriginal descent	-the policy is assimilative in nature and racist in conception
			-reliance upon official(s) concept of what a white civilized person ought to

STATES	DOCUMENT	IMPLICATIONS	ASSESSMENT
		racial criteria -Aborigine registrar -Aborigine can be removed if deemed capable of assuming full responsibilities of citizenship inclusion racial exclusion Aborigines have to meet higher standards than non-Aborigines to achieve the same status in law	
WESTERN AUSTRALIA	Native Welfare Act	any person over one quarter blood is defined as native excludes any aborigine who served honourably in the armed services criteria relied upon would be whether or not Aborigine required the statutes protection Welfare Act is primarily interested in providing a minimum degree of protection until the natives are assimilated	-racially biased
VICTORIA	Aboriginal Affairs Act	Broad definition	

STATES	DOCUMENT	IMPLICATIONS	ASSESSMENT
		Any person who is descended from an Aboriginal native of Australia	
NEW SOUTH WALES	Aborigines Act	descendant of person who is an Aboriginal native	-no reliable means of determining who fit the aboriginal definition
		no restriction for inclusion other than minimal degree of blood	
		wide powers of descretion for authorities administering the Act	-reliance is placed upon a personal opinion
		therefore the actual definition is not known and inconsistent	
NORTHERN TERRITORY.	Welfare Ordinance 1953	Provides the only attempt to define a racial group in non-racial terms, without reliance upon administrative discretion	
		applies automatically to persons who by their manner of living, inability to manage their affairs, th	

History of Aboriginal Education Policies

This section will be based primarily on J.W. Harris' paper pertaining to the development of aboriginal education in New South Wales from the past to the present.[27] This is due to the fact that much of the information about the early years of Black/White contact in Australia was never recorded.

However, it is assumed that the educational history of aborigines in New South Wales was similar to that in other parts of Australia.

History has moulded present day attitudes to authority, schools and white society.

First Contact

There was no such thing as public education for anyone during this period. There was however, a concern for "civilizing" the aboriginal. A colonialist ideology that prevailed in all countries where indigenous people did not live as the colonialist did.

Governor Macquarrie established a Native Institute at Paramatta in 1814, assuming education of aboriginal children would reduce hostility between the two groups. As all education was religious in Britain at the time, it was natural that missionary schools should be set up for the aboriginal. In New South Wales an ex-missionary, Mr. William Shelley, was placed in charge of the missionary enterprise for aboriginals.

Mr. Harris comments:

> If Mr. Shelley's educational philosophies were not particularly progressive at the time, this says little for Aboriginal Education, today, a century and a half later, in many schools, Shelley's word appears to be not yet out of

> date. "Let them be taught reading, writing or religious education, the boys, manual labor, agriculture, mechanic arts, etc., the girls sewing, knitting, spinning..."28

Early director-generals of education in Australia were Church officials who believed their first priority was the settlers' children and the task of education of aboriginal children was for all intents and purposes ignored.

For example a royal instruction was issued July 17, 1925 directing measures be taken "for civilization of the Black Natives". Archdeacon Scott, the then Director of Education, responded quite accurately that costs would be prohibitive. Furthermore, he already was incapable of providing for the settlers' needs, let alone aboriginal ones.

Scott's argrument was accepted, and although little, if anything, was being done in Australia toward aboriginal education, the British Government having a bad conscience about having destroyed aboriginal society without doing anything positive towards "the conversion of Aborigines... to Christianity and the introduction of civilization amongst them," provided funds to churches to undertake aboriginal education.

There were very condescending comments about the Aborigines by clergy and missionaries, usually those with only minimal experience of Aborigines. However those who actually worked intensely with the Aborigines were more often than not impressed with their intelligence and general ability.

> I am pleased at the progress they have made not only in the reading of English but also in scriptural knowledge. Some of them would put many European children to shame...they afford at least a decisive proof that they are quite as capable of cultivation of the mind as other nations.29

Although a retrospective evaluation would probably conclude the churches failed, it was not because of the lack of noble intention. They failed partly because of their attitude and approaches, but the larger blame rests with the pressure and attitudes of the settler population.

Ironically, in the middle of the last century, the select Committee on the aboriginals and the Protectorate concluded the most beneficial thing for aboriginal people would be to change the attitudes of whites, by promoting the interests of religion and education among the white population of the interior of Australia rather than among aboriginal people.

Thus, any small education success in the classroom was reduced to irrelevancy by the experience of the tragedies of conquest, dispersion and depopulation outside the schools.

1848 - 1880 -- No Recognition

During this period, very few people believed that aboriginal children had any right to any form of education, even in those places where they had long ago been forced to abandon their life style and congregate on the fringes of white townships. Reflecting this attitude, the Board of National Education suggested under the circumstances to provide education "for the children of the blacks". Nontheless, with no support or policy for aboriginal education, there was an estimated 200 aboriginal children in New South Wales public schools by 1880.

1880-1900 -- Protection and Segregation

By this point, as with all the other States, the policy of protection was being established. At its best, the policy was a gesture based on the promise that protection should be provided to "smooth the dying pillow" of the aboriginal race. At its worst, the policy meant segregation, loss of freedom and the imposition of official control.

At this point it should be mentioned that as the colonial power moved in land, policy varied slightly from State to State. A protector of Aborigines was established with the power to create reserves and force the Aboriginals to live on them. The financial resources of the Protector were never enough to do much for the Education of aboriginal children. That responsibility lay with the Department of Education.

Until 1882 the Department of Education had no cause to make any official decisions regarding aboriginal children attending school because the numbers were insignificant.

But in 1883 white parents at Yass complained about the 15 aboriginals at the public school. george Reid the Minister of Education responded,

> ...no child, whatever its creed or colour, or circumstance ought to be excluded from a public school. But cases may arise especially amongst the aboriginal tribes, where the admission of a child or children may be prejudicial to the whole school.[30]

The net effect was complete segregation schools. If a reserve were nearby, a building was found. Otherwise a provisional school or separate schools were established.

To be fair, the Department of Education did not actively encourage the exclusion of aboriginal children. Where the number of aboriginal children in a school was too few to make an alternative provision the stated policy was that aboriginal children were allowed to attend normal public schools - "provided that they are habitually clean, decently dressed and that they conduct themselves with propriety, both in and out of school." However, frequently the objections of the white populace to having their children intermingle with the Aborigines, resulted in the latter receiving no education at all. Their numbers were too small to justify their own school and the white community wouldn't allow them to attend their school.

1900 - 1940 -- Exclusion and Segregation

Although the aboriginal population was still decreasing, the number of their children was increasing. By 1900, school attendance had increased three hundred percent. However the white community's attitude was no different in the twentieth century than it was in the 19th. Basically the Department's policy of education for aboriginals was dependent upon the opinions of the local white community, nor could the Department guarantee that the local communities' motives were honorable, or its attitudes unprejudiced. There were exceptions in New South Wales schools where aboriginals were an accepted minority.

The level of segregated aboriginal schools was in general far below that of the public schools, lack of financial support and incompetent teachers were the main reasons. The product of aboriginal schools therefore, were mostly barely literate people, even though the number of schools was still increasing.

Worse than a poor school was no school at all. This fate befell many aboriginal children where the white community refused to admit them or there were less than 12 students (required number for a separate school) or where a building wasn't available though number exceeded twelve.

By 1940 the exclusion of aboriginal children at the request of the white community was virtually the Department of Education's policy.

1940's - Present -- The Beginning of the End of Segregation

In 1937, the Commonwealth and States, Conference on aboriginal Matters recommended assimilation as a general policy rather than protection, particularly with regard to the detribalized, part caste aboriginal people. The policy of segregation was changed to assimilation which meant education was, in theory, no longer to be segregated.

However legislation is one thing, its implementation is another. Sixty years of segregation will not be transformed overnight. Harris related two examples of the process of de-segregation. It is useful to present one case as an example of what undoubtedly happened around Australia.

The school at Collarenbri was first chosen by the Department of Education because there was a significant number of aboriginal children but no aboriginal school for them to attend.

In a rather militant fashion aboriginal parents attempted to enroll their children at the school. They did not succeed, and for five years had no schooling. The Department, having assumed full responsibility for the education of aboriginal children, saw the situation in Collarenbri as urgent. Under the new policy, no more segregated schools were to be established. When the local inspector of schools reported that the aboriginal children were generally clean, healthy, and well-behaved, the Department's Chief Inspector, Mr. B.C. Harknes, a supporter of mixed schools, instructed the headmaster to enroll aboriginal children in 1941.

The Collarenbri parents and citizens association reacted with a strongly worded protest and the local newspaper carried articles strongly critical of the Education Department's plans to enroll aboriginal children.

At the beginning of the 1941 school year, 14 aboriginal children and 36 white children came to school and over 60 white children were kept at home. The headmaster was ordered to adhere to his instructions, but to enforce the existing regulations for exclusion of children on health and cleanliness grounds. Obviously aware of this loophole, the aboriginal parents took particular care, and the headmaster reported that they were "scrupulously clean, the government medical officer was called in and he too gave a clean bill of health."

However during the first week of school, the headmaster tested each aboriginal child and the effect of no schooling in the past five years was obvious. Ten and eleven year olds could hardly be placed in kindergarten. The headmaster, Inspector, and Chief Inspector all agreed that a special class was necessary. The Department acted with remarkable rapidity. On Friday, February 7,1941, the decision was made to establish the annex. The annex was a very important symbol, but it symbolized different things to different parties. To the aboriginal people, it was progress, a step towards educational equality. To the white residents it symbolized their power to resist the Department's attempts at integration. To the Department of Education, it provided an unexpected solution to a difficult problem, a solution which might work elsewhere. At least the aboriginal children were being taught and in a public school.

In 1943, an amendment to the Aborigines Protection Act allowed Aborigines who satisfied certain strict requirements to qualify for Exemption Certificates. These certificates entitled the holders to certain privileges not allowed to other aboriginals, such as entry to hotels. The certificates had to be carried by the holders, and were in force until 1963. Aborigines referred to them as "dog licenses". The Department saw this as a means of allowing certain aboriginal children to be enrolled in ordinary schools.

"This Department has decided that children of any Aborigine securing such an Exemption Certificate are to be admitted to the ordinary public school."

Although the Exemption Certificates were not easy to obtain, some children were admitted under this regulation. It was also becoming common knowledge that Aboriginal children were being freely admitted to ordinary schools on production of a medical certificate. A number of organizations objected to the discriminatory nature of this regulation and it had been demonstrated elsewhere that strict enforcement of the normal health regulations was all that was necessary.

The regulation went on to say, however, that if there was substantial opposition in the community, the enrollment should be deferred and the advice of the Department sought.

Few problems occurred in Collarenbri until 1946, when the teacher of the annex resigned and was not immediately replaced. This rather unrelated event had a significant impact on the integration of aboriginal children there. All the aboriginal parents petitioned the Department to allow their children to attend the main building. What was more important was that several aboriginal families sought permission to enroll their children under the new regulation requiring only a medical certificate.

When the first family was admitted to the main building in 1947, there was immediate public protest. It was obvious to all parties concerned that the children admitted to the main building came from those families who were able to accept and demonstrate white society's values of health, cleanliness, and living conditions and by 1949, opposition to them was much less. The protestors carried a motion condemning the Department actions but they represented a minority of the towns residents. A counter petition from local clergy and other residents was forwarded. The inspector met with those who objected to the enrollment of these children. The headmaster had very carefully enforced the Department's health regulation, and the protestors finally could put forward no other argument than that the children had some "aboriginal blood".

Although another teacher was appointed to the annex, the next few years saw the gradual transfer of children to classes in the main building. By 1951 there were only a few pupils remaining in the annex and there was an acute shortage of teachers due to the post war baby boom. The annex was closed and by July 1951, all aboriginal children were enrolled in normal classes in the main building.

This process was typical of the Department's attempts, first to enroll unschooled aboriginal children in normal schools, and later to merge aboriginal and normal schools. The policy of assimilation was a "hasten slowly approach, and mixed schooling was to a greater degree achieved fortuitously in much the same way the annex at Collarenbri collapsed. Of course, a few schools remain with a totally aboriginal enrollment. They are properly staffed public schools exist either for geographical reasons or because the aboriginal community prefers that the school remains."[31]

The Present Policy

Present government policy towards the aboriginals has been affected by a number of events since World War II. Following the acceptance of the assimilation approach to education during the war, its reality was more fully developed during the fifties as the white majority slowly accepted the right of the aboriginal child to go to school. Another factor for change was the transfer of aboriginal Affairs to the national government in 1967. This increased the potential financial resources available to the aboriginals, but as was mentioned earlier, did not necessarily result in a real change in policy at the state level. Finally in 1971, the regulations requiring principals to defer or refuse enrollment of aboriginal children on the grounds of "home conditions" or "substantial opposition" were removed from the teacher's handbook at the order of the Director-General of Education.

More positive developments in the past twenty years have been the establishment of the Australian Institute for aboriginal Studies by the Australian Institute of aboriginal Studies Act in 1964; the creation of the aboriginal Study Grants (1969) and the aboriginal Secondary Grants Scheme (1970); the aboriginal Arts Board (1973), and in 1977 the National aboriginal education Council (NAEC), an all-aboriginal body, was formed to advise the Department of aboriginal Affairs on education matters affecting aboriginals. The last organization is an outgrowth of a report by the aboriginal Consultative Group to the Schools Commission, in June, 1975, entitled Education for Aborigines. According to Natascha McNamera of the aboriginal Training and Cultural Institute, this was one of the first documents that was a completely aboriginal effort.[32]

Government Policy

A recent draft paper by the Department of aboriginal Affairs stated the government's objective for aboriginal education were that:

1) aboriginals receive an education which is in harmony with their cultural values and chosen lifestyle and which enables them to acquire the skills they desire, and

2) Education regarding the cultures and lifestyles of the aboriginal people is promoted in the whole Australian community.[33]

These objectives arise in part from low achievement levels on the part of aboriginals which the government says result "from many complex factors, but they essentially relate to the disadvantage suffered by aboriginals in all aspects of living and the inappropriateness of much of the general education system." Moreover the government admits that "There has been an increasing recognition of the validity of traditional aboriginal education and of the need to provide alternative forms of education."[34]

The methods the government is using to realize these objectives include the previously mentioned student grants programs, funding for teacher aides, liaison officers and specialists, other programs include support for community-based, non-government aboriginal schools, financial assistance for post-secondary students, study grants for teacher training, adult education. The federal government also promotes aboriginal teaching assistants, bilingual education and pre-schooling programs. Finally the department in co-operation with the Australian Education Council is striving to increase the teaching of the history and culture of the aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders among the majority population education system.[35]

Outwardly, the commitment to the promotion of aboriginal education appears to be strong and extensive. However Philip Green, a journalist with the National aboriginal Conference Secretariat replied in writing to an inquiry by the OIEC.

> Don't be fooled by the Commonwealth Government's policy handout -- it hides the fact that there are many aboriginal children in the outback who receive minimal if any education, and that quite a significant proportion of the adult aboriginal population has received very little schooling.[36]

He further states that the actions of D.A.A. are because the States have little desire to deal with aboriginal education. It is clear that in the last decade there has been a large turnabout in the government's stated approach to aboriginal education but it is also clear that the aboriginals themselves feel this change is still not satisfactory.

The aboriginal Position

A.P. Barlow of the Australian Institute of aboriginal Studies states,

> The aim of education in its traditional form is

> self knowledge...Through the series of revelations and long periods of initiation he learns not only what he is, but also the tasks, the activities he must carry out to show the reality he knows himself to be. With knowledge comes power and responsibility. It is not old age, then which gives authority, but only self-knowledge gained through a life-time of learning.[37]

The nineteen member, National Aboriginal Education Council undoubtedly was aware of the complexity of traditional education and how it must be aligned with the modern world when it made the following recommendations as aims or goals of education policies for aborigines:

> The NAEC believes that education policies for Aborigines should be developed within the frame work of the following aims.[38]
>
> AIMS

1) the promotion of a common feeling of kinship among all aboriginal people in Australia;

2) contemporary education must be a process which builds on aboriginal identity, integrating and utilizing traditional aboriginal methods of learning;

3) aboriginal studies must become an integral part of every Australian child's education so they get they whole picture of Australian colonial history;

4) education for all Australians must be a means of promoting cross-cultural understanding through an intensive community education program;

5) education services must aim for and develop aboriginals with knowledge and pride of their heritage, as well as the academic and technological skills, required of Australians;

6) aboriginals take control of and be responsible for the implementation of policies, funding and administration of aboriginal education;

7) increase in programs, implementation of new programs to train and employ Aborigines in the field of education;

8) aboriginal education research must directly benefit aboriginals;

The means of achieving these aims are through the following objectives:

A) close consultation with the National aboriginal Conference and other aboriginal organizations;

B) setting up a National Enquiry into all aspects of aboriginal education under the auspices of the NAEC;

C) the eventual establishment of a National Aboriginal education Commission that would be run by Aborigines for Aborigines so that they could fully implement the policy of self-management espoused by the Commonwealth Government;

D) establishment of an Aboriginal Education Resource and Curriculum Development Unit;

E) immediate implementation of steps to increase Aboriginal participation in education programs at all levels;

F) the implementation throughout Australia of community education schemes based on parental involvement and community consultation at the local level+

G) the establishment of a National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island College of Advanced Education;

H) the establishment of appropriate teacher education courses applicable to Aboriginal teachers based on Aboriginal philosophies, teaching methods, curriculum, etc;

I) any research discussions or activities in the area of Aboriginal education must be conducted in a manner which is consistent with the NAEC's policy of Aboriginal decision-making in the provisions of education services to Aboriginal people;

J) the NAEC that evaluation should be an integral part of all Aboriginal education. The evaluation processes should always involve a majority of Aboriginal people so that a reliable expression of Aboriginal people viewpoints on such programs is available.

The NAEC lists various methods by which their aims can be achieved. These include the creation of a National Advisory Education Commission, an Aboriginal Education Resource and Curriculum Unit and a National Aboriginal and Torres Strait

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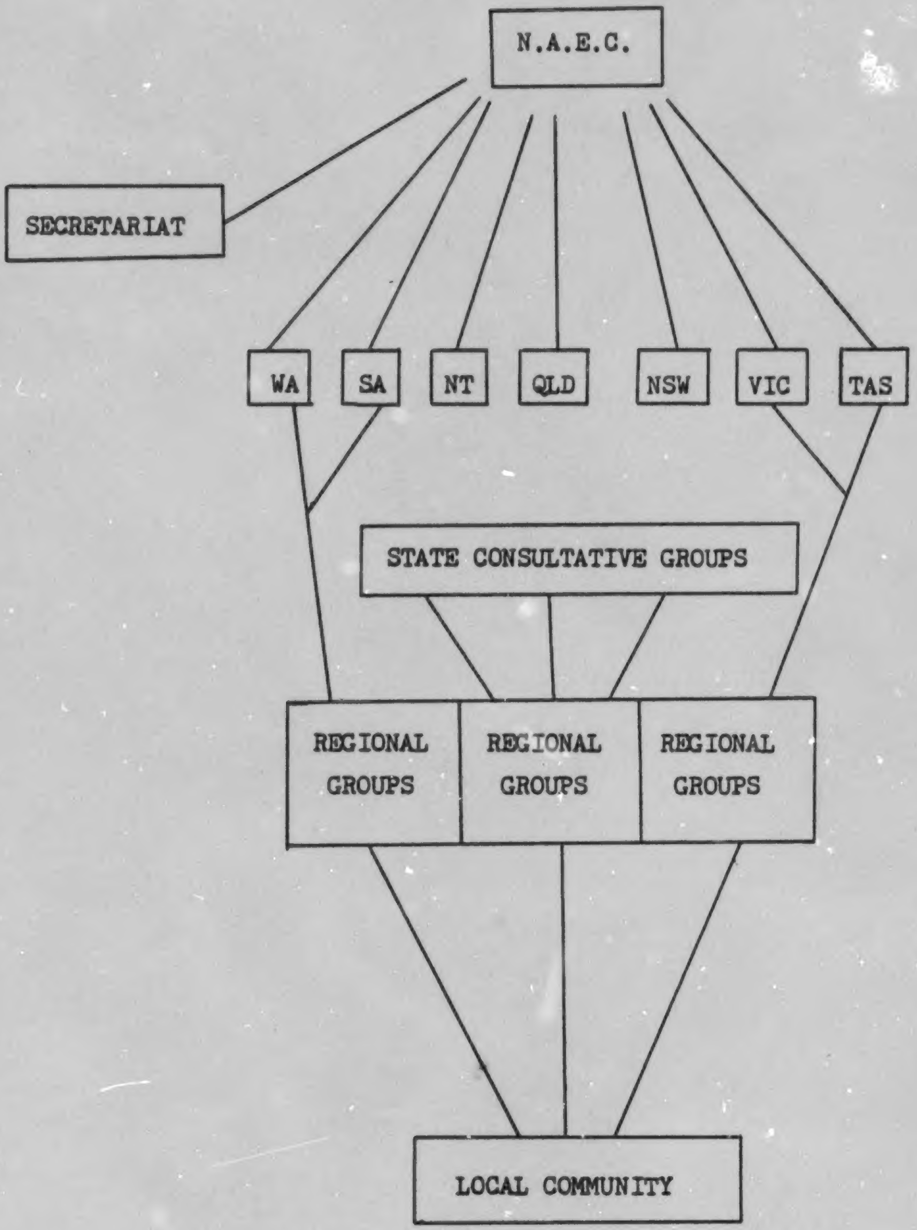
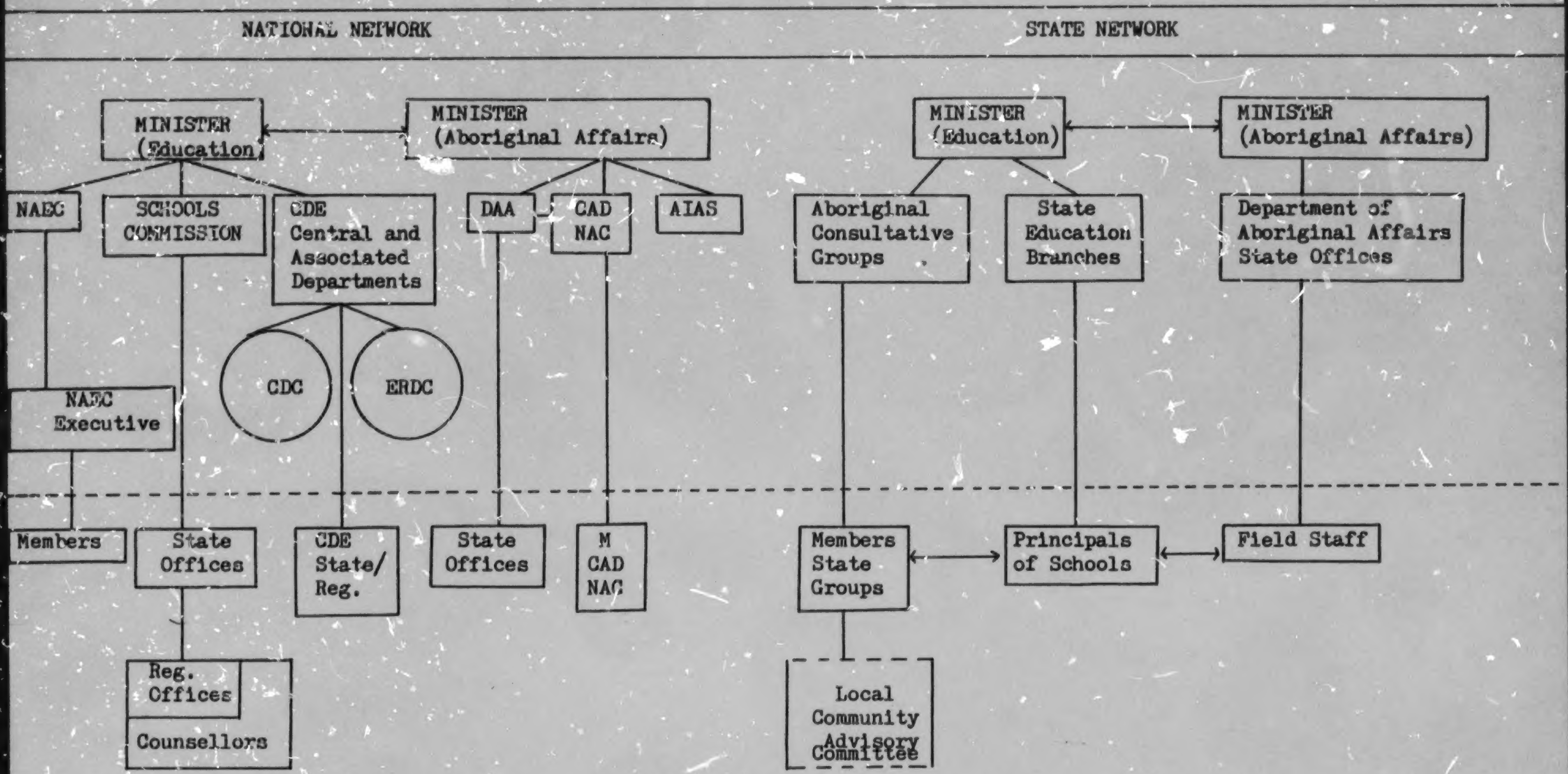
DIAGRAM II


N.A.E.C.
SECRETARIAT
WA
SA
NT
QLD
NSW
VIC
TAS
STATE CONSULTATIVE GROUPS
REGIONAL GROUPS
REGIONAL GROUPS
REGIONAL GROUPS
LOCAL COMMUNITY

Source: The Report of the Workshop of the NAEC and the State Consultative Groups to the Chairman of the Naec, November 14-16, 1980

DIAGRAM III

National-State-Regional Administrative Structures


NATIONAL NETWORK
STATE NETWORK
MINISTER (Education)
MINISTER (Aboriginal Affairs)
NAEC
SCHOOLS COMMISSION
CDE Central and Associated Departments
DAA
CAD NAC
AIAS
CDC
ERDC
NAEC Executive
Members
State Offices
Reg. Offices
Counsellors
CDE State/ Reg.
State Offices
M CAD NAC
MINISTER (Education)
MINISTER (Aboriginal Affairs)
Aboriginal Consultative Groups
State Education Branches
Department of Aboriginal Affairs State Offices
Members State Groups
Principals of Schools
Field Staff
Local Community Advisory Committee

Source: Education in the 80's; The Role of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, Report of the 14th National Aboriginal Education Conference, (University of Queensland, 1979) p.42

Islander College of Advanced Education. These organizations would undertake original work as well as be a linkage between the Aboriginal community and the majority community.

Diagram II indicates the hierarachical structure of the NAEC. Each consultative group is designed to interact with their respective level of government, advising and eventually controlling Aboriginal education at each level, up to the national one.[39]

Diagram III indicates how the present structure as depicted in Diagram II relates to the larger governmental infra-structure. John Budby, in his presentation to the Conference, "Administration in Aboriginal Education" states that there is still a very limited amount of decision-making input by the Aboriginals in the present system. Later, in summarizing the value of the Conference, he observed that previous conferences had made recommendations which were never implemented. He urged and believed that this would not be the case for the 1980's.

STATISTICS

The previous sections have shown that true reform of education and interest in educating Aboriginals is not much more than a decade old. Thus the performance should reflect the time frame. A caveat about the statistics was stated by Natascha McNamara. She said the statistics on Aboriginals published by the Commonwealth government were sometimes questionable since the federal government was dependent on the state governments to provide a major portion of the data. The latter did not necessarily have a systematic nation-wide criteria for data collection, thereby undermining the relevance of some of the data.

Notwithstanding these concerns, the statistics undoubtedly provide a good clue to the present situation and possible trends for the future.

TABLE I*

Public Expenditures on Education

	AUSTRALIA		CANADA		U.S.A.	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
1976	6.3	16.2	7.8		6.0	17.7

A = Total public expenditure on education as a percentage of G.N.P.
B = Total public expenditure on education as a percentage of all public expenditure

*Source - Statistical Yearbook, 1980 (Paris: UNESCO)

The data shows that amount of energy in dollars devoted to education. The variation between the three countries is not great, varying not much more than a percentage point.

However, the amount of money spent directly on Aboriginals is considerably less. For fiscal year, 1980-81, Australia is spending a $190,247,000 on programs for Aboriginal development, of which $13.2 million is designated for education and training.[40] In Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs spent nearly $700 million in 1978/79 of which approximately $280 million was earmarked by education. Granted, Australia has a smaller GNP, a smaller population and a stronger dollar (Australian dollar -- $1.37 Canadian)[41], however even if we assume the State absorbed much of the cost of educating Aboriginal students, it still appears to be a grossly low sum for education.

The Department of Aboriginal Affairs 1978/79 Annual Report shows 6.9% of its budget is for education and 1.9% for training.[42] In comparison, Canada's Department of Indian Affairs for the same year allocated approximately 40% of its budget to education. It is in standing philosophical cornerstone of development that education must be a priority, yet Aboriginal education is listed fifth in funding after Aboriginal Affairs administration.

Money is never a panacea for poor educational performance, but it can reduce the low rate by providing necessary upgrading skills for those who have faced disadvantages not comparable to the majority population. An analysis on Aboriginal educational performance in the Table following is dated but indicates the catching up required.

TABLE II

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION ATTAINMENT OF ABORIGINAL AND TOTAL POPULATIONS, 1966

Highest Level Attained	Aborigines No.	Aborigines %	Total Population %
Matriculation or higher	35	0.2	9.2
Junior Certificate	198	1.3	18.4
Attended/attending Secondary	2,665	17.2	38.7
Attended/attending Primary	6,294	40.7	29.9
Aged or no education	5,253	33.9	2.0
Not stated	1,034	6.7	1.7
TOTAL aged 5 yrs. and over	15,479	100	100

Source: H.P. Schapper, Aboriginal Advancement to Integration, Conditions and languages for Western Australia (Canberra: Australian National University Press 1970) p.176

The figures are for the state of Western Australia only. It is not too presumptuous to assume this pattern was reflected to a greater or lesser degree throughout Australia. The greatest discrepancy between the European population and the Aboriginal population is in the category of no education aged 5 and over -- for the former it's 2.0%, for the latter 33.9%. In another section of his report, Mr. Schapper identifies that for those 15 and over, the no education percentage rises to 44.4%.

The number of Aboriginals who have never attended school had dropped to 25% according to a report presented to the Commonwealth Parliament in 1979.[43] The report added that of those who did attend school, 43% dropped out after primary school, of which only one third had completed primary school, and only 2 percent had proceeded beyond year 10.

The reasons for this performance are similar to those for the Maoris in New Zealand but with sharper differentiation. For example in the 1971 census 56% of the Aboriginals were classified as rural and migratory and 29% were living outside the major urban area. Rural performance, whether European or Aboriginal, is generally lower. Combine this with strong cultural and language differences resulting in serious retardation rates and the drop-out rate becomes almost inevitable. A limited survey of Aboriginal children in high schools in New South Wales found that about half of them were in slow-learner classes.

Table III shows that based on tests of reading and of numeration, the Aboriginals were consistently poorer in both than their European counterparts at ages 10 and 14. The Table illustrates a fundamental problem in keeping Aboriginals in school, the retardation of learning. There is no easy solution since the need to learn a different language combined with the other cultural factors immediately creates the potential for learning retardation. Bilingual education which was introduced in 1972 may alleviate some of the problems in the future as the program is honed to the needs of Aboriginal children. Further, the committee's report recommended:

> An increase in basic research into the specific learning problems of Aboriginals in different circumstances, and 'field trials' of educational programs related to the modes of living and potential vocational activities in different regions.[44]

Table IV indicates Aboriginal performance in tertiary education in 1975. The "other" figure for Western Australia (WA) is explained by extensive programs at Adult Aboriginal Centres.

TABLE III

READING TESTS AND NUMERATION

Average % Correct	Aboriginal Male	Aboriginal Female	Australian Male	Australian Female
10 YEAR OLD				
Reading Test	46	47	81	85
Numeration Tests	35	38	81	83
No. Of Students	50	60	3345	3283
14 YEAR OLD				
Reading Test	44	57	84	84
Numeration Test	36	48	86	88
No. Of Students	45	62	3170	3077

performances of Male and Female Students Aged 10 and 14 in 1976

Source: S.F. Bourke and J.P. Keeves, The Mastery of Literacy and Numeracy, Australian Studies in School Performances, Vol. III, April 1977, p.152

TABLE IV

1975 Aboriginal Enrollments for TAFE by course and State

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	AUS
Diploma	-	2	-	-	6	-	8
Certificate	3	27	2	7	21	3	63
Apprenticeship	36	4	20	6	22	-	88
Pre-employment	152	19	53	57	147	-	428
Other	124	8	17	164	2997	-	3310
	315	60	92	234	3193	-	3897

Source: Aboriginal Access to and Use of Technical and Further Education 1976

In a speech by Mr. W.F. Bird of the NAEC, he states that the 1976 census showed there were only 252 Aboriginal men and 231 women with diplomas or degrees.[45] There were 4,000 Aboriginals with Technical or Trade qualifications and 393 people with some form of vocational training. He felt the situation had improved since 1976, but he added that in 1978 only 8.1% of Aboriginal Secondary students were in senior forms, compared to 20.6% for all Australian students.

The fact that previously mentioned committee's report urges emphasis be placed on training Aboriginals in professional and para-professional occupations will be hampered by this slow flow from secondary institutions. A similar problem was identified with Canadian Indians.[46]

At present, there are an estimated 14,000 to 15,000 Aboriginals in secondary schools and another 4,5000 students in technical and tertiary institutions.[47] As of 1979 there were 600 Aboriginal teaching assistants from pre-school through secondary school to assist Aboriginal children, while a further 178 Aboriginals took teacher training.[48]

Table V indicates the actual number of indigenous teachers per state and the number required in terms of actual population. It is quite apparent the amount of training required.

TABLE V

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
Current	16	7	10	6	14	4	11	4	72
Projected	525	192	455	139	287	35	356	12	2001

Source: Briefing Document Prepared to the Meeting of State Superintendents National Aboriginal Education Committee State Consultative Group Representatives, Southern Teachers Centre, Hobart, March 12, 1979

As with Canada's native people the need for more Aboriginal teachers and teacher aides is great. Without these people, it seems unlikely there will be any dramatic improvements in the statistics of Aboriginal education.

CONCLUSION

Ms. McNamara told the Ontario Indian Education Council that although the state government had some of the most regressive attitudes and laws towards Aboriginals in the country, ironically it was the most progressive in its approach to Aboriginal education.

It is clear from what Ms. McNamara and others have said, as well as the material reviewed, that Aboriginal education has come a long way in the last twenty years but it still has a very long way to go. Fortunately from the Aboriginal Institute for Aboriginal Affairs through bilingual education programs and support grants to the National Aboriginal Education Committee, the infrastructure for real growth in Aboriginal education is being established. However as Mr. Budby, Chairman of the NAEC said:

> Aborigines wish to become a recognized part of the total Australian society and to play a significant role in Australia's development. Unless special provisions are made then the educational situation of Aborigines will not occur.[49]

In line with Mr. Budby's observations is the development of Aboriginal studies as perceived by the Aboriginal Institute. It notes that the most important reality of Aboriginal studies is their present social situation. The Institute states:

> It (Aboriginal Studies) is about Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders today, about the dignity that is theirs and the respect that is their right, not only as Australians, but as the very first Australians.[50]

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[49] J. Budby, Has Our Schooling Developed to Meet the Needs of Our Changing Society with Particular Reference to Aboriginal Education a paper delivered to teachers of the South West Region of New South Wales, February, 1981

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NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is located in the South Pacific midway between the Equator and the South Pole. The country is comparable in size to Britain, Italy or Japan. New Zealand has a total land area of 268,100 km, South Island 151,757 km, and Stewart Island 1,746 km.[1]

Based on a 1978 figure, New Zealand has a population of 3,187,000 with a density of 12 inhabitants per square kilometer. The population growth rate from 1970 - 1978 was 1.7% a year.[2]

New Zealand is a developed country and most of the people live well. According to the figures the average annual income in 1978 was $4,790 (US). The total sum of the Gross National Product during the 1978 year was $15,270,000,000 (US).[3]

New Zealand, like Canada is a parliamentary democracy based on the British model. Its titular head is the Queen of England who is also Queen of New Zealand by an Act of Parliament in 1953. The Constitution is not to be found in a single document. The British recognized New Zealand as a self governing country with the Constitution Act of 1852. However it has now lost a lot of its initial importance. The system is now based on numerous laws, judicial ruling and administrative practices. Because New Zealand's fundamental laws are changeable, they provide flexibility to New Zealand's idea of democracy. Thus as conditions change its institutions and procedures can be updated. The role of the Governor-General is very similar to the position in Canada.

> Her Majesty is represented by the Governor-General. Appointed for a fixed term by the monarch on advice of the Government, he may be likened to a non-executive President. His duties include summoning and adjourning Parliament, reading the speech from the Throne, (a statement of Government Policy), at the beginning of a parliamentary session, gives

royal assent to legislation[4]

Maori Beginnings

The original inhabitants of New Zealand are descendents of the Polynesion race of people known as the Maori. According to Maori legend they voyaged to New Zealand by canoe about 1000 years ago. They journeyed from the legendary Hawaiki. This is a period known as the "Great Migration" which is proudly remembered in ancient Maori chants.[5]

The generally accepted theory of the history of the Maori is they origianlly came from southeast Asia. As Polynesians, moved eastward from island to island until they reached the eastern Pacific, where they settled the islands now known collectively as Polynesia. From there they sailed southwest in ocean-going canoes to New Zealand. These voyages were probably spread over several generations, perhaps several centuries. Oral Maori history and genealogy suggest that there was a final wave of migration of considerable magnitude about A.D. 1350. Finally in New Zealand, they adapted themselves to a new physical environment, in isolation from the outside world.[6]

Maoritanga, defined as Maori culture or the Maori way of doing things, has had a strong influence in New Zealand's way of life. The Maori forms of social and economic organization and material culture were significantly different from their Polynesian ancestors in southeast Asia.[7]

A product of tropical latitudes, the Maori mainly confined themselves to the warmer North Island and when the Maoris discovered the Europeans, the Europeans found the Maoris to be a sophisticated people. They had noticeable superiority in the arts of wood and military engineering.[8]

Social Customs

Their principle social unit was the family group with the family group as the central unit, the tribes and sub tribes evolved. The Maori had highly developed social and ritualistic customs. Their system of land tenure and methods of civilization were communal within the sub tribes. The Maoris showed courage and intelligence. Perhaps, as a result, intertribal and intratribal warfare was common.[9]

The tribes were led by hereditary Chiefs and a powerful priesthood, however internal tribal policies were generally democratic. There was no national political organization above the tribal level.

Like the classic Greeks, oratory was an important art. The emphasis on oratory was due in part to no written language. The history and traditions of the tribes were handed down by word of mouth. The myth and legend which was a part of the oral history provides the perspective of the Maori with regard to his environment.[10]

Religion

The Maori religion was polytheistic, that is there were many gods. The faith was maintained by the chiefs and priests in an oral tradition. This included religious thought and mythology, including the great creation and sacred lore. Each god had his own preserve, whether it was the sea, forests or crops. Thus the supernatural was a part of a Maori's daily life. The Maori interacted with nature because nature was vital and alive. His approach to nature involved intense spiritual observance. The fundamental concept of Maori religious thought was Tapu (sacredness). Certain places, acts and people, such as high ranking priests or chiefs were tapu or sacred. For some the concept of Tapu is still strongly regarded and the traditional way of doing things is held in respect.

Moreover rituals associated with traditional art, like carving and weaving, are strictly maintained and forms of ritual remain integral to Maori ceremonial gatherings.

Economic Systems

The Maori economy was founded on cultivation, fishing and to a lesser degree the hunting an snaring of birds.

The planting and harvesting were community tasks. The process was in accordance with Tapu, and ancient rituals were followed. However the main food source for the Maori was from the sea.

As agriculturalists and tribalists, there was a commonality of spirit with no individual title held on tribal land.

As was indicated earlier, the Maori were brave and able fighters. Military training was the greatest recreation, while military efficiency was considered the greatest achievement. Maori oral history recounts the feats of warriors in battle.

This military approach was reflected in the communities. They were mainly fort sites, defended with elaborate earthworks and palisades. Central to the settlement was the maroe or central square, and the village meeting house, a large carbed building superior to the ordinary dwellings.

Witi Thimaer writes:

> The traditional Maori community was led by hereditary chiefs and tohunga or priests, but all members, other than slaves, could speak on matters affecting the community. However leadership rested largely upon age and seniority and moral protocal required strict observance of speaking rights based on rank. In some areas women were not given these speaking rights...A

> persons mana or prestige depended on his rank, but mana could also be gained by performing worthwhile and important acts. The idea of mana is important.[11]

This observance of moral protocol continues to be practised at modern Maori ceremonial occasions. In addition, cultural unity was strongly reinforced by the Maori language. The language invoked an oral tradition of though, history, attitude, mythology, and preserved a distinctive Maori entity[12]

European Contacts

On December 13, 1642, Abel Jansgoon Tasman, a navigator of the Dutch East Indian Company discovered the country to which he gave the name of New Zealand. There is no record of any European visit to New Zealand after Tasman's departure until Captain James Cook landed on October 9, 1769 near Gisborne.

Whaling stations sprang up along the New Zealand coast from 1792 onwards. In 1814, Samuel Marsden, Chaplain to the Governor of New South Wales in Australia was responsible for establishment of the first mission station in the Bay of Islands.

By 1840 Captain William Hobson had become the first Governor of New Zealand. He was there to establish sovereignty, restore order and make treaties with the Maoris.[13]

Colonization

The same year Hobson became Governor, the first true colonies came under the aegis of Edward Wakefield and his New Zealand Company. Mr. Wakefield dealt with individual Maori for the land, ignorant of the concept of common tribal land. His intention was to precede the Crown's claim to sole right to deal with the Maoris. This right was established by the Treaty of Waitangi, also in 1840. The Treaty dealt with relations between the Maoris, the whites and the former's cession of land.

Prior to negotiation Governor Hobson was dispatched with these instructions:

> The Queen, in common with her Majesty's immediate predecessor, disclaims for herself and for her subjects every pretension to seize on the islands of new Zealand, or to govern them as a part of the Dominion of Great Britain unless the free and intelligent consent of the Natives, expressed according to their best usages, shall be first obtained. Believing, however, that their own welfare would, under the circumstances I have mentioned by best promoted by the surrender to Her Majesty of a right now so precarious, and little more than nominal, and persuaded that the benefits of British protection and laws administered by British judges, would far more than compensate for the sacrifice by the natives of a national independence which they are no longer able to maintain. Her Majesty's government have resolved to authorize you to treaty with the aborigines of Ne Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any parts of those Islands which they may be willing to place under her Majesty's dominion.[14]

The logic behind the Treaty of Waitangi was based on sovereignty. The British had recognized Maori sovereignty in order to defeat any Dutch claim as a result of being the initial discoverers. The role of Vattel's concept of aboriginal entitlement might also have played a part. The cession of Maori sovereignty allowed for them to be fought under Colonial law and policies as well as providing an orderly transfer of land. Pursuant to this policy Governor Hobson entered into the Treaty of Waitangi on February 6, 1840 with 50 Maori chiefs representing their tribes. Within a year 500 Maori chiefs had signed the treaty.

The Maoris signed the treaty mainly assuming that the Pakeha migration was inevitable. The treaty was seen as a means to protect their rights.

The treaty reads:

> Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favours of the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights an Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands -- Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her Subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and authorize me William Hobson, a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navey Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to Her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

ARTICLE THE FIRST

> 'The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty, the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and power of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.'

ARTICLE THE SECOND

> 'Her Majesty, the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries, and other

> properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right to Pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.'
>
> ### ARTICLE THE THIRD
>
> 'In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand, Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British subject.'
>
> W. Hobson
> Lieutenant Governor
>
> Now therefore we the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and we the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spririt and meaning thereof; in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.
>
> Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of our Lord One thousand, eight hundred and forty;
>
> The first Article cedes sovereignty over the tribal land to the Crown. By the Second Article, the Maori possessory and property rights to their land were guaranteed protection by the Crown. Further, the Crown claimed the exclusive right to accept transfers of Maori land. The Third Article grants the Maoris the full rights and privileges of British subjects.[15]

The treaty of Waitangi, therefore ceded sovereignty to the Queen from the Maori Chiefs and in return the Crown guaranteed the territorial chiefs through the Crown being sole purchaser as well as extending all rights and privileges of British subject.

One author assesses the treaty as:

> Conceived in justice and dedicated to the new ideal of honorable dealing with an intelligent race, the treaty was not a long document. It was an attempt to set standards for the development of harmonious race relations for, although sovereignty was ceded to the British Crown, the radical view was taken without payment. It recognised both the British system of individual land ownership and the Maori system of tribal and family ownership. Land was made available for European settlement, but the interests of Maori owners were protected by restricting to the Government the right to purchase their land. Other intrinsic rights were also guaranteed.
>
> No doubt, the British Crown had good intentions. However, the treaty promised more than could be expected from it and had little status even in terms of international law. And although New Zealand statute law itself, especially rests on the three brief clauses of the Treaty the agreement has not always been kept. But for Maori, then and now, the Treaty of Waitangi is to be honoured to the letter. It has become a symbol protecting their otherness as a culture and one which they continue to look to as protecting their identity and pride as Maori people. Indeed, it has become the standard by which governmental policies regarding Maori is judged. The Maori people believe that the promises made at Waitangi are binding; although the promises have been broken in the past, they are determined to see that they are kept in the future.[16]

The period after the signing of the Treaty was turbulent in Maori Pakeha relations. The Maori began to assimilate European technology and society as well as readjusting to the Pakeha. However conflicts over land increased until they led to war in 1860.

Eight years earlier, New Zealand was allowed internal self-government. Voting was dependent on land ownership. Consequently this excluded most Maori who held land communally -

a concept not deemed applicable of participating in the colony's political life, even though the Treaty of Waitangi had made them British.[17]

The war arose from European migration increasing contact between Maori and Pakeha. The 1858 census revealed that the settlers outnumbered the Maori who fearful that they were beng swamped by the settler became increasingly reluctant to sell their lands.

The war in essence was the reluctance to sell by the owners of the land in conflict with the pressure from the immigrants to buy. The war petered out by 1870. But widespread confiscation of land from both friendly as well as hostile Maoris by the Pakeha government in order to pay the cost of the war aroused further resentment. Eventually a substantial portion of the confiscated land was subsequently purchased or returned, but land transactions remained a source of bitterness and potential hostility between Maori and Pakeha[18]

The conflict had been between an established way of life, a new way, and tension had arisen out of a period of adjustment. However, it had not been fought on any vast national scale and over an unbroken period, nor had it involved one race totally against the other. Parallel to the warring events of the time another "movement" was taking place -- adaptation of Maori people who, while retaining their Maori identity, were also moving into an expanding Pakeha world.

With time, Maori leadership passed to a new generaton unconnected with the bitterness for war and confiscation. They began to build a new future for their people. Their abilities were greatly needed for subsequent to the land disputes came a racial disillusionment which led many people to believe the Maori was a dying race. Under their leadership the people rallied and began adapting themselves to the demands of a new society.

> Today, although the land confiscations still resonate within tribal memories, land classified as Maori totals about four million acres (1.6 million hectares) and is administered by Maori interests. More important, Maori culture has become integral to New Zealand's framework, despite the legacy of the years of conflict. The culture may not be as intact as it should be but its pride, power and dignity continue to remind us of our dual heritage as New Zealanders. The fact that none of these heritages was almost lost to us lies behind the protective instincts concerning Maori culture, felt not only by Maori but increasing number of Pakeha also.[19]

By 1865 a Native Land Court had been established. The act allowed individuals both sell and purchase Maori land after the court had investigated the Maori sellers title.

Between 1860 and 1891 over 50% of the remaining Maori land was sold. Like the Indians of North America, the Maori showed great resiliency as their traditional life was being undermined. During the same period the government began to formulate its policy of both integration and autonomy for Maori people.

In 1867 the Native Representation Act was passed. By the act, Maoris were guaranteed four representatives. A Maori could contest any seat in New Zealand but the Act guaranteed that at least four seats would always be elected soley by the Maori electorate.[20]

In 1887, Sir James Carroll (Timi kara) was elected to a Maori seat. For most of the next 26 years he was to be the Minister of Maori affairs. In 1900, Carroll sponsored the Maori Councils Act which adopted traditional tribal institutions and tribal boundaries to provide self government at the local level.

The Councils were designed to develop both autonomy as was desired by the New Zealand Parliament and government and segregation as was described by the tribal institutions. Finally it created self-government which was seen by the Young Maori Party as the most effective means of development. Thus by

1902 there was a unified reality to disparate points of view[21]

Rejuvenation

By 1900, the elite that was a part of the YMP, or Pakeha society in general were able to persuade the government to assist in creating the National Council. The Council was to provide a voice for Maori affairs on an national level. In 1901 the Maori population was 43,143; within a decade it had increased to 49,844.

The population increase indicated societal stablization. Stability was maintained because the society was mainly rural. Yet, overriding source of discontent remained; the Maoris were still unsatisfied with the treatment of the land issue.

This discontent was partially resolved in 1909 with the Native Land Act. It stated that only Maori Councils could sell land. This returned some degree of control over the land to the traditional tribal instrument. The act went some way in rectifying a grievance outstanding since the Taranki War. Management of the land was returned to the Councils, eliminating the Trusts and the need to pay rent. Nevertheless within ten years, another 3 million acres of land had been sold.

In 1926, a Royal commission found the Taranki war to be the fault of the government. The Commission also concluded that the war had been pursued against these British subjects for the sole purpose of confiscating land. The result was funds were established to compensate the Maoris. The Taranki fund was 500 pounds per annum, a small amount considering that 462,000 acres had been lost. By 1960, ten of these trust funds, run by Maoris, had been established.

Another development of the 1920's was the "Maoritangi" or cultural pride. It emphasized Maori arts and crafts. The

Maoritangi was in part a reaction to the assimilative, paternalistic policies of the government. Thus the twenties reflected a growing assertion of Maori autonomy and power.[22]

Post World War II

The main change since World War II has been the large migration of Maoris to urban centres. Between 1956 and 1961 alone, one fifth of the Maori population left the seven northern rural counties of the North Island in search of jobs. whereas stability and adaptation existed in rural areas, the lack of education, skills and language problems combined with an alienated social structure drove the Maoris into "slums" where conditions were overcrowded and housing poor.

As the problem increased, a Royal Commission, the Hunn Commission was established to seek solution. Its report in 1960, identified the problems as primarily a lack of adequate education. It noted only one third of the Maori population made it to secondary school; only one third were taught in Maori schools as compared to one half in 1930; and in 1958, only 89 Maris were in University. The result of this lack of education, combined with alienation and language difficulties was limited job opportunities, mainly menial and hence an average urban income was 200 pounds less than the Pakehas.

The report's recommendations emphasized the upgrading of Maori education. It recommended a fund be established to recognize scholastic achievement and finance higher education. As well, it suggested special training be instituted for urban teachers to aid them in teaching Maori students.

The Maoris themselves attacked the problems by establishing urban 'tribal' organizations, based on residency and not kinship ties, but still modelled after the traditional Maori society.

Finally the first meeting of the National Maori Council was held in 1962. It was the culmination of fifteen years effort to produce national Maori organizations. It was composed of the executive of the various tribal councils and its purpose was to organize and solidify what had previously been an agglomeration of 84 Maori Districts and 495 Committee areas.[23]

History of Maori Education

The following is a chronological list extracted from Highlights in Education: The First 100 Years.[24]

Important Historical Documents/Acts pertaining to Educational History:

1816 After the arrival of the first missionaries, schools were established for the Maoris, the first being at Rangehoria in the Bay of Islands in 1816. The instruction was given in Maori. Later when Europeans arrived in greater numbers the need for instruction of white children arose.

1847 The first legislative action was an ordinance passed by legislative council at Auckland in 1847 which provided for the education of children but recognized only schools run by certain religious denominations.

1858 The Native Schools Act of 1858 included provision for the transfer of the subsidy to schools from the civil list to appropriation by the House of Representatives.

1868 Wellington College founded by Governor Grey. Native Schools Act passed, extending the operation of the 1858 Act.

1871 The Native Schools Act Amendment passed providing for the establishment of village schools and enlisting the aid of the Native population in running they schools as well as contributing financially towards their running expenses.

1877 The first National Education Act was passed. It is still the main basis of our system of education. Previously only half of the children between the ages of 5 to 15 attended schools, for there were no laws governing compulsory education; pupils paid about 10 cents weekly to attend. The chief features of the Act were that education should be national, secualr and compulsory for both Europeans and Maoris. Children were to be admitted free from 5 to 15 with the statutory obligation on all parents resident within two miles of a school to send children aged between 7 and 13. A three tiered administrative structure was established comprising the Department of Education, twelve Education boards, and various school committees. The Department of Education under a Minister of Education, was to be responsible for the organization and control of an national inspectorate, the training of teachers, the distribution of capital grants to local education boards, and the making of regulations governing administrative procedures. The education boards were to define school districts, to set up and maintain schools, to appoint and remove teachers, to establish district high schools and to appoint their own officers. The boundaries of the board districts were to coincide with the old provincial districts.

Consequences of the Education Act of 1877

The Education Act of 1877 brought into existence a system under which the whole cost was thrown upon the Government while almost the whole of the control, including the control of the inspectorate, was entrusted to the local education authorities. It had been expected that the provisions of the Act would give the greater part of the power to the school committees, for example the right of a school committee to elect board members was expected to enable them to control board policy. However this was not the case and for more than 20 years the education boards exercised almost unlimited ocntrol over schools in their districts. School committees handicapped by their limitation (imposed by the board) to the management of a single school and prevented by poor communications from acting in common or developing a concerted policy had their powers securely curtailed and their activities confined to the day to day management of the schools.

The Department of Education

The first years of the Department of Education were characterized by difficulties in trying to carry out functions given to it under the Education Act 1877. With an initial staff of an inspector-general, a secretary (Dr. J. Hislop) and one clerk, there was little opportunity for the department to investigate the activities of the Education boards. When in 1886, the office of the secretary was combined with that of the inspector-general, it became even more difficult to maintain the work of the Department.

1879

Control of Maori village schools was transferred from the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Education.

1880

First inspector of Maori schools appointed.

1894

The School Attendance Act 1894, passed providing that every child between 7 and 13 must attend school at least 6 times a week, morning attendances and afternoon attendances being separately counted ie. 3 days a week.

1901

The School Attendance Act of 1901 raised the school leaving age to 14 though children who had passed standard 6 could leave at 13. The aim of this act was to promote regular attendance at public school. It was stipulated that every child between the ages of 7 and 14 years was required to attend some public school.

Free secondary education was introduced in the district high schools.

The Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act passed. This act made physical education for both boys and girls compulsory in public and Native schools.

1908

In 1907, George Hogden presented a controversial report to both houses of the general assembly. He concluded that in all countries that have the best developed systems of education, the control is largely local, the educational authorities are closely linked with the local governing bodies, and the schools form an organic part of the life of the community.

1909

Regulations relating to native schools were promulgated. The provision of the Education Act relating to the attendance of European children were thus made to apply to Maori children although by this time about 80% of Maori children were attending the ordinary state schools.

1914

Like the 1877 Act, the 1914 Education Act was to some extent a compromise between conflicting interests. In the field of primary education the powers of the education boards were curtailed and those of the central board strengthened. School committees were given a larger measure of financial autonomy. The control of the inspectorate was transferred to the Department and provision was made for the establishment of a national grading system. In the field of secondary education there was little more than a consolidation of the changes made in the preceding decade. A major change in the law was that a child could leave school at the age of 13 if he had obtained his certificate of proficiency.

1919

A radical alteration of the primary school syllabus was made with considerable liberalization of teaching methods. Children's attention was focused on "thought getting" rather than "word saying".

1920

The Education Amendment Act made the provision for the raising of the school leaving age to 15 but this was not implemented until 1944.

1928

A new syllabus was constructed further modernising both prescriptions of work and methods on instruction.

1936

The Education Amendment Act of 1936 abolished the Proficiency Exam to be replaced by Primary School Certificates issued to pupils who had completed a course in form 2 in a public, native or private school.

1939

The Minister of Education, the Right Hon. P. Fraser made his famous statement on the aim of New Zealand education, "That every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he lives in town or country, has a right as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers." This educational objective has continued to this day.

1953

The Education Amendment Act 1953, provided for the division of each education board district into wards, with one board member for each ward. The Act also made it possible for three or more schools to have their own board of Governors subject to the control of the Post Primary Secondary Schools Council.

1955

The Education Amendment Act provided for a new scheme for the grading appointment and promotion of primary teachers.

1959

A carpentry trade training scheme for Maori youths was established in Auckland in co-operation with the Department of Maori Affairs.

1960

The report on the Department of Maori Affairs (The Hunn Report) was presented. It made many recommendations on the education of the Maori people.

1961

The Maori Education Foundation Act established the Maori Education Foundation "for the general purpose of promoting and encouraging the better education of Maoris and of providing financial aid for that purpose.

1962

The report of the Currioe Commission was presented. It dealt with every facet of the public school system - primary, secondary and technical and made 346 recommendations. The four sectors requiring urgent and special attention were teacher training, Maori education, the secondary and administrative structures. Most of the recommendations were taken up but the erection of a three tiered administrative system of district education council working with primary and secondary schools was not.

1964

The Education Act 1964 was the first consolidating legislation since 1914. It reflected 50 years of change particularly in special education, secondary education and senior technical and many of the recommendations of the Commission of Education were taken into account. The age for the commencement of compulsory education was lowered to six.

1969

After 100 years of existence as a special service of the Department of Education the remaining 108 schools opened this year under the control of education boards. The transition was smooth and effective.

1970

The National Advisory Committee on Maori Education reported on the education of Maori children.

1971

The Maori language was introduced as an official subject in certain form classes. One teachers college introduced a major Maori Language course.

The report of Rural Education was presented, describing the criteria and procedures for establishing intermediate form 1-7 and area schools.

The preceding chronological listing provides a rough idea of the evolution of Maori education. Emphasis should be placed on certain periods an how they influenced future developments.

In the section dealing with Maori culture, the concept of education was integrated with Maori culture and exercised by the child's peer group and elders.

> ...the education of the (Maori) children was thorough and to repeat- practical, representing a deliberate adjustment to environment...a training in social activities and in practical endeavour, by means of which the child became a useful and responsible member of the community.

When the Europeans arrived, there was the invariable missionary body who desired to educate the indigenous population. The first recorded efforts were in 1814. The primary objective was to train Maoris at teachers. Maori children were taught reading, writing, catechism and arithmetic. In addition women and girls were taught needlework and domestic employment while men and boys were taught carpentry and field work. By the 1830's there was a considerable number of missionary schools.[26]

Although the missionaries imposed values alien to Maori culture and knowledge, they did not initially try to assimilate the people. The establishment of a government in 1840 fundamentally changed that attitude. The Native Trust Ordinance of 1844 recognized the need to educate the Maori but considered an assimilationist approach the only logical course. In doing so they ignored Maori language, culture as well as the Maori individual's relationship to his community.

The government's purpose in providing financial assistance was to stem the growing Maori nationalism. It felt that the missionary schools promoted this nationalism through the teaching in the Maori language and the proximity of the schools to the local communities.

Missionaries continued to operate the schools throughout the period of wars between the Pakeha and the Maori. Acts such as the Native Schools Act of 1858 were passed which provided for a sum of 7000 pounds for seven years. It was designed to provide financial support for schools undertaking the education of Maori children.[27] However the interest of the latter in attending the former slowly declined so that by 1865, it was estimated there were only twenty-two pupils attending any form of European school.[28]

1867 proved to be a watershed. The Native Schools Act of that year created a national system of secular village day schools, controlled and administered by the Department of Native Affairs. The act initially required that Maoris financially assist the establishment and maintenance of school. The assumption being that this would provide greater incentive for the community to maintain and strengthen the school. However this requirement was partially rescinded in 1871. In the same year the Native Schools Amendment Act was passed.

Among the government's objectives in passing the act were:

> a) to establish village schools wherever there was a sufficient native population to justify it;
>
> b) to instruct in the English language except where there was no one able to do it;
>
> c) the village schools should function "through the agency of the Maoris themselves associated with and aided by such Europeans as might be willing to work with them on School Committees.[29]

The intention of English only was supported by a number of eminent Maoris. The hope was that by developing a facility with the English language, the Maori people could learn the means of the Europeans and thereby not hold a poor position in the colony. The other interesting aspect of the government's intentions is the development of local school committees run by the Maoris. This is a development that has a much shorter history in Canada.

From the low of twenty-two mentioned earlier, the number of Maori students had risen to 1625 by 1880.[30] The previous year control of Maori schools had been transferred from the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Education. Under the authority of Mr. James Pope, the Native Schools Code was developed. The code provided for the establishment of schools, the selection of teachers, the conduct of the school and the standards of education.[31] Besides the standard elements of education, which were to be strengthened from sometimes piteable states, Pope attempted to expand the school environment beyond the academic limits. Parents were encouraged to become involved through school committees as well as teach their children the crafts and culture of their ancestors.[32]

To support this approach, Pope had books translated into Maori which were specifically designed for their needs. This practical approach to education of Maori needs waxed and waned over the next half century. People like Pope's successor, W. Bird were more inclined to an academic approach. Some influential Maoris also held the same opinion. Others, however, such as Dr. Pomare, continued to emphasize the need for overall Maori community development through education rather than the promotion of a small educated Maori elite.

Between 1881 and 1911 the number of Maori children in school increased four fold to over 4,000. This was in part a response to the School Attendance Act of 1894 which made attendance compulsory, partly due to an increasing birth rate after years of decline and in part due to improved conditions at native schools in conjunction with the Maori communities perception of a need for education. As W. Bird says, "it was found that the inherent attraction of the school and the personality of the teacher were the most potent factors in securing good attendance."[33]

During the nineteen twenties and thirties the philosophical approach to the Maoris continued to emphasize practical education. It was felt the best approach for the Maoris was to be tied to the land, to be farmers and rural workers while maintaining their traditional customs and social organizations. To that end certain aspects of Maori culture were incorporated into the curriculum after 1930.

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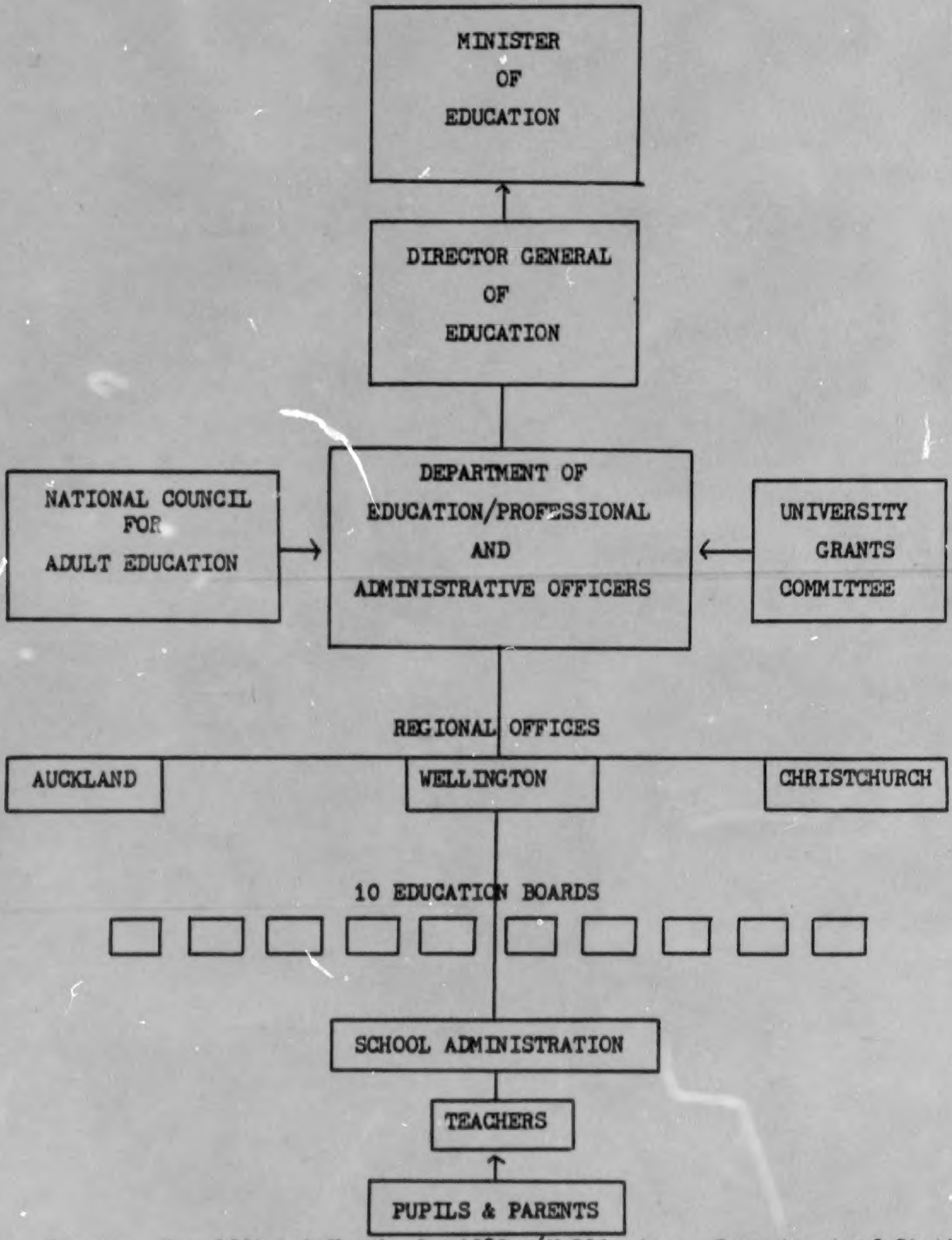
DIAGRAM I

The Administration of Education


MINISTER OF EDUCATION
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION/PROFESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS
UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMITTEE
REGIONAL OFFICES
AUCKLAND
WELLINGTON
CHRISTCHURCH
10 EDUCATION BOARDS
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION
TEACHERS
PUPILS & PARENTS

Source: New Official Yearbook, 1980, (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1980)

Since World War II the demographic change, that is the increased urbanization of the Maori as well as the overall population growth, challenged the assumptions made before the war. The present emphasis is to increase the number of professional people in the Maori community.

Thus in 1960 the Hunn Report was presented. In 1961 the Maori Education Foundation was established by an act of Parliament to provide financial assistance for "the better education of Maoris".[34] In 1969 the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education was reconstituted after the remaining Maori schools were transferred to Board Control. The committee has made two major reports, Maori Education in 1970 and He Huarahi in 1980. The recommendations and observations are dealt with elsewhere. At present therefore, the two major Maori inputs into education are the National Advisory Committee and the Maori Education Foundation. Whether they can achieve changes in the 1980's, where others have failed remains to be seen.

Education Statistics

In 1978 the combined school, college and university enrollment represented just over 1,000,000 or over 32% of the population. In 1945 these enrollments made up only 19.3% of the population. This growth is accounted for increased births for the major part of the period; a marked tendency for pupils to stay on longer at school and also to undertake further education after leaving school; and the development of new educational services.

Government expenditures on education increased over the same period from 8% to 13.6% of total government outlays.[35]

Administration of Education

The 1964 Education Act provides for free and secular education in State primary and secondary schools. Further all children between the ages of 6 and 15 years, are required to attend school.

The Department of Education is the central administrative body directing education whose permanent head is the Director-General of Education. The Department consists of professional and administrative officers. Although centered in Wellington, the department has regional office in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, each under the control of a superintendent.

The Department's staff are responsible for advising the Minister on policy and development; controlling the expenditure of money voted; ensuring that schools are built and equipped when and where required and that teachers are recruited and trained; checking that standards are maintained in all schools (both State and Private) and assessing the efficiency of teachers. The department also conduct curriculum revision and development and recommends curriculum changes to the Minister.

Control and management of State primary schools is the responsibility of 10 education boards, while local secondary school boards control the State secondary schools. The boards are responsible for: the schools in their area; the employing of teachers; the grants received from the Department of Education for the maintenance of schools; building new schools, equipment and teaching materials. There are no local rates levied for education either by municipal or local education authorities.

Meanwhile the Department of Education directly administers the Correspondence School and State special schools; controls the inspectorate, supervises the staffing schools, and conduct the School Certificate Examination. The department assures that all State and registered private schools are visited regularly by inspectors who give assistance and guidance to teachers in educational matters. It also administers capital expenditures voted for school buildings[36]

Education Boards and School Committees

In the past the members of education boards were elected solely by members of school committees on a ward system. Today a provision has been made for each board to have a teacher to represent all teachers employed by the board.

The school committee which controls the Education board which controls the State primary district. It is a statutory body charged with management of property and other matters on behalf of the board.

> A school committee's essential function is the care of school buildings, grounds, and equipment, but in addition to this, many interest themselves very keenly in the general activities of the school and provide, along with voluntary parent-teacher associations, a focusing point for local opinion on education matters.[37]

Secondary School Boards

Secondary school boards are constituted by the Minister and published in the New Zealand Gazette. The school boards have representatives of parents of pupils, of the education board of the district, of other local groups and organizations, as well as teacher respresentatives. The board of governors of each school have a large measure of autonomy in the control and management of its own school.[38]

Maori Enrollment in Education

In 1978 Maori pupils constituted 14.9% of primary and secondary school population, an increase of 2.9% in 10 years.[39]

Primary and Secondary Education in 1978

During the early years in school there is no real noticeable difference between Maori and non-Maori attendance. Also the distribution of Maoris and non-Maoris among the classes are very similar at the primary level. There is little or no variation.

TABLE I

Primers to Standard 4

	Maori		Non-Maori	
Age	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Under 5	425	0.7	1,088	0.3
5	9,211	15.2	51,724	15.5
6	9,740	16.2	54,312	16.2
7	9,563	16.2	54,162	15.9
8	9,525	15.7	53,158	15.9
9	9,113	15.1	53,270	15.9
10	9,025	14.9	51,352	15.4
11	3,523	5.8	13,820	4.1
12	220	--	669	--
13	39	--	192	--
14 and up	108	--	553	--
	60,492	99.7	334,300	99.5

Of those Maori children in primers to Standard 4, 96% attended State schools. The number of Maori students in private schools is 2,476.

TABLE II

Forms I-VII

	Maori State		Non-Maori	
Age	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Under 11	134	0.3	1,066	0.4
11	5,661	12.2	38,935	12.5
12	8,664	18.7	50,866	16.3
13	9,073	19.6	53,192	17.0
14	9,066	19.6	53,535	17.1
15	7,066	15.3	50,587	16.2
16	4,429	9.6	40,947	13.1
17	1,740	3.8	19,376	6.2
18	383	0.8	3,431	1.1
19 up	54	--	567	.2
	46,270	99.9	312,542	100.1

In terms of percentages according to the above table, Maori students 12-14 make up a higher percentage of the student population at this form level than do the non-Maori students.

However the drop out rate for Maoris rises at a faster rate than that of non-Maori students at age 16, 17. 78.9% of Maori children in secondary schools are in forms I-VI, 10% more than non-Maoris - 68.2%.

Levels of Attainment

TABLE III

Attainment of Pupils Leaving all Secondary Schools 1978

	Maoris				Non-Maoris			
	1978		1979		1978		1979	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
University Scholarships	3	-	4	-	192	0.4	191	0.4
Bursaries	76	0.9	110	1.2	4,474	8.4	4,452	8.4
High School Certificates	138	1.6	148	1.7	3,263	6.1	3,246	6.1
University Entrance	368	4.3	371	4.1	8,992	16.8	8,891	16.8
6th form Certificate								
3 or more subjects	657	7.8	800	8.9	6,839	12.8	7,973	15.1
1-2 Subjects	152	1.8			1,176	2.2		
School Certificate								
3 or more subjects	444	5.2	468	5.2	6,317	11.8	6,263	11.8
2 subjects	375	4.4	459	5.1	3,381	6.3	3,361	6.3
1 subject	576	6.8	810	9.0	3,535	6.6	3,509	6.6

No attainment	5,679	67.1	5,821	64.7	15,234	28.5	15,076	28.5
	8,468	99.9	8,991	100.0	53,403	99.9	52,962	100.0

The Maori pattern of attainment has not altered significantly between 1978 and 1979 except in the area of those gaining one or two School Certificate subjects instead of leaving without any attainment. There is a considerable margin between Maoris and non-Maoris in terms of attainment of a Certified Education. Almost 70% of Maori students failed to get a Certified Education, whereas, only 28.5% of non-Maoris students failed to do so.

Destination of School Leavers 1978

TABLE IV

	Maori		Non-Maoris	
Further Full	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Time Education				
University	159	1.8	6,144	11.5
Teacher Training	79	0.9	1,257	2.4
Technical Institute	267	3.0	3,712	7.0
Other	366	4.2	117	0.2
To Join Labour Force				
Professional/ Technical	245	2.8	4,183	7.9
Clerical Related	553	6.3	7,178	13.5
Sales Workers	413	4.7	3,660	6.9
Service Workers	633	7.2	4,639	8.7
Agriculture,etc.	692	7.9	4,009	7.5
Production/ Transport/Labour	1,572	17.9	6,764	12.7
No occupation	3,789	43.2	11,440	21.5

As noted in Table III a majority portion of Maori students failed to attain a Certified Education. In Table IV, 43.2% of Maoris have no occupation, at this point it can be assumed that because a majority of Maoris have failed to attain a complete education they enter the labour force relatively unskilled. Only 9.9% of Maori people continue their education by way of university, technical training, etc., while 21.1% of non-Maori further their education. This figure doubles that of the Maori.

Retention Rates between Maori and non-Maori

TABLE V

Retention of Maori School Pupils

Percentage remaining from:	1978/68	1972/73	1977/78
Form 3-4	83.5	81.5	90.9
Form 4-5	70.5	64.8	74.0
Form 5-6	14.4	20.4	29.3
Form 6-7	12.5	13.8	14.8

Retention of Non-Maori School Pupils

Percentage remaining from:	1978/68	1972/73	1977/78
Form 3-4	96.3	96.8	97.4
Form 4-5	83.0	84.8	90.8
Form 5-6	43.4	52.7	56.8
Form 6-7	30.7	28.5	30.1

During the 1978 year the retention of non-Maori figure was double that of the Maori pupil at the senior school level. This figure is consistent with the assumption of a low schooling level for Maoris as illustrated in Table 4.[40]

Comparative Education Analysis: New Zealand and Canada

Historically, Canada and New Zealand are similar in that both countries were settled and colonized by the British empire. Both indigenous groups inhabiting these two countries were subjected to the repressive and paternal colonialist attitudes of the European invaders. Early education of the indigenous peoples was the responsibility of various missionary groups - they attempted to "civilize" and "christianize" the original inhabitants.

Administration

New Zealand's education system for the general population and the Maoris is administered by the federal government. There are no separate schools for Maoris, the Maoris and Pakehas attend the same schools where the same rules and regulations apply. On the other hand, the Canadian education system is administered by the respective provinces. The separate schools specifically for Indians are still in existence only they are not as prevelant as they used to be. However jurisdiction over Canada's original people is a federal responsibility, according to Section 91, paragraph 24 of the BNA Act (Canadian Constitution).[41] The Canadian Indian Act 1952 is a document which outlines the federal governments power over Indians, Sections 114-119 deal specifically with Indian education.[42]

Enrollment in Education

During 1978 there were 5.9 million[43] students enrolled in the Canadian school system, of this figure 75,000[44] were indigenous people who make up only 1% of the total student population.

In New Zealand there were 1,008,808[45] students of this figure there were approximately 150,000 Maori pupils who comprised 14.9% of the total student population.

Since Canadian Indians comprise only 1% of the total student population, and Maoris comprise 15% in their country, it is assumed that Maoris because they have more student participation in the school system, would also have more influence in the education systems decision making processes than Canadian Indians.

Proportionally, in both countries the level of indigenous students in the primary stage of education is comparable to the national level. This is true because in both countries compulsory education is mandatory for all students at this level.

Secondary Level - Retention Rates

Approximately 19% of Canadian Indians remain in school to the end of the secondary level while 75% of the national student population continue at this level. In comparison, 14.8% of Maoris remain in school to the end of the secondary level while 30.1% of the national population remain.[46]

While the systems are different, it would appear that in terms of retention rates between the two indigenous groups at the secondary level as compared with the national student population, the Maoris are more successful than their Canadian counterparts. In relative terms, compared to the national student population in New Zealand approximately 50% of Maori remain in secondary school while in Canada only 25% of Indians remain in relation to the national student population.[47]

Statistically it would appear that the Maori are succeeding at remaining in the secondary level at a rate which is more than double that of the Canadian Indians.

Expenditures

$807,537,000 was New Zealand's total expenditure for education during the 1977-78 school year.[48] There is no figure available for monies allocated towards Maori education for the simple reason that Maori students attend the same schools on an equal basis as the majority population.

A little more than 17.5 billion dollars covered the Canadian expenditure for education during this same period.[49] Of this exorbitant amount only 280 million dollars was allocated to the Canadian Indians.[50]

Policies

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood adopted the concept of Indian control of Indian education in a position, which in part states:

> Indian parents must have full responsibility and control of Education. The Federal Government must adjust its policy and practices to make possible the full participation and partnership of Indian people in all decisions and activities connected with the education of Indian children. This requires determined and enlightened action on the part of the Federal government and immediate reform especially in the following areas of concern; Responsibility, Programs, Teachers, Facilities. It is a policy based on two fundamental principles of education in a

> democratic country...parental responsibilities and...local control.[51]

The Federal government has accepted this approach in principle and its own studies suggest that the principle is effective.

> Indian control of education and accessibility appear to be influencing factors in secondary participation. In the limited areas where bands have assumed responsibility for secondary education and, to a lesser degree where provincial schools are close to Indian communities, the retention rates for Indians are higher.[52]

Maori Policy (Present)

Present Maori education policy came into being as a result of recommendations established by the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education in 1969. Basically the following are the overall objectives submitted by the committee.

> ...equipping Maori children to realize their full potential first of all within the school system, and later as effective members of the community.
>
> ...it is essential that the Maori child's self-image be enhanced by the knowledge that cultural differences are accepted, understood, and respected.
>
> ...steps should be taken within the education system to ensure a growing understanding of Maori, Maori and Pakehas, particularly children and teachers be made more aware of the cultural values that form an essential part of the Maori way of life.
>
> ...special attention be given to the key transitional points in a Maori pupils progress through the educational system--point of entry, primary schools, secondary schools, post-secondary and employment.[53]

Since the NACME is comprised of members of the Federal Government and qualified representatives of the Maori people, the NACME's policy has remained intact with changes as necessary.,

It would seem that the two policies, although different in wording, stress basically the same themes - indigenous control, cultural retention and enlightenment of the majority population toward indigenous culture. The difference being that the Maoris implemented their policy quicker than Canada with the result being that Maoris are a few years ahead of Canada's Indian in terms of educational achievement.

One other observation should be made. This historical patterns and present success rates suggest that the overall performance by the Maoris has been better than their Canadian counterparts. The amount expended by New Zealand, both on a per capita basis and absolute terms (in 1976 New Zealand spent 5.5% of GNP on education, in Canada it was 7.8%)[15] has been less than the Canadian government. Thus it tends towards the conclusion that the difference in relative rates of performance has as much to do with attitude by the majority population as it does with the number of dollars spent.

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[39] The data in this section is primarily from Maori Education Statistics, (Department of Education, New Zealand 1978)p.2

[40] He Huarahi Report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, (Wellington, New Zealand, Department of Education, 1980) p.61

[41] Drieger, E.A., The British North American Acts, 1967-1975, (Ottawa: Department of Justice, 1976) p.24-25

[42] Indian Act, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1978) p.51-53

[43] Department of Statistics, (Canada, 1981)

[44] Indians Conditions: A Survey, (Ottawa, DIAND, 1980) p.49

[45] Yearbook, Op.cit., p.78

[46] Maori Education Statistics, Op.cit., p.2

[47] *Survey*, Op.cit., p.49

[48] Huarahi Report, Op.cit., p.61

[49] Department of Statistics, (1981)

[50] *Survey*, Op.cit., p.52

[51] *Indian Control of Indian Education*, (Ottawa: NIB, 1972) p.30-31

[52] *Survey*, Op.cit., p.50

[53] *Maori Education Report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education*, (Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Education, 1970) p.3

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MEXICO

Introduction

The official name of Mexico is the Estado Unidos Mexicanos. The national language of the country is Spanish. The capital is Mexico Distrito Federal. Mexico, like Brazil is a developing country. The population in 1978 was 66,994,000. The Gross National Product (GNP) per capita was $1,290 (U.S.) for the year 1978. The Average Annual Growth Rate for the period 1970-77 was 1.2% and for the same period the population growth rate was 3.3%.[1] Half of Mexico's population now live in the cities. One quarter of the total population of Mexico is under the age of 16.

The Government of Mexico is a republic headed by a President.

> Political Organization - Officially, Mexico is called the United Mexican States. It is a respresentative federal republic consisting of 31 states, and a federal district. The Constitution, ratified in Queretaro on February 5, 1917 is the law of the land. It established freedom of worship, although the great majority of Mexicans are Roman Catholic. Church and State have been separate since 1857. The government functions under three branches, the executive, legislative and judicial divisions, whose powers are defined in the Constitution.
>
> Executive Power - Executive power is exercised by the President, who is Chief of State and of the government. He is elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of 6 years and may not be re-elected. The age of voting is now 18 years. The President performs his duties through 16 Ministries, 2 Departments, an Attorney General, and a number of autonomous agencies. The autonomous agencies operate with their own funds and are endowed with special functions.
>
> Legislative Authority - Legislative authority is performed by the Congress of the Union, constituted by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Deputies are elected by a direct vote for a 3 year period and represent around 200,000

inhabitants. Senators are also elected by direct vote for a 6 year period, each State sending 2 representatives to the Senate.

Judicial Authority - The judicial authority is entrusted with the administration of justice at the Federal level. The top ranking body is the Supreme Court of Justice, composed of life members appointed by the President. The Mexican government is a federation of States which are sovereign in their internal affairs. They have their own administration elected by direct vote, and follow the federal pattern in divisions of power. The Federal District is governed by a Regent appointed by the President. The Federal District is where the main government offices are located.[2]

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES

TITLE ONE

Chapter I

Individual Guarantees

Article 3 The education imparted by the Federal State shall be designed to develop harmoniously all the faculties of the human being and shall foster in him at the same time a love of country and a consciousness of international solidarity, in independence and justice.

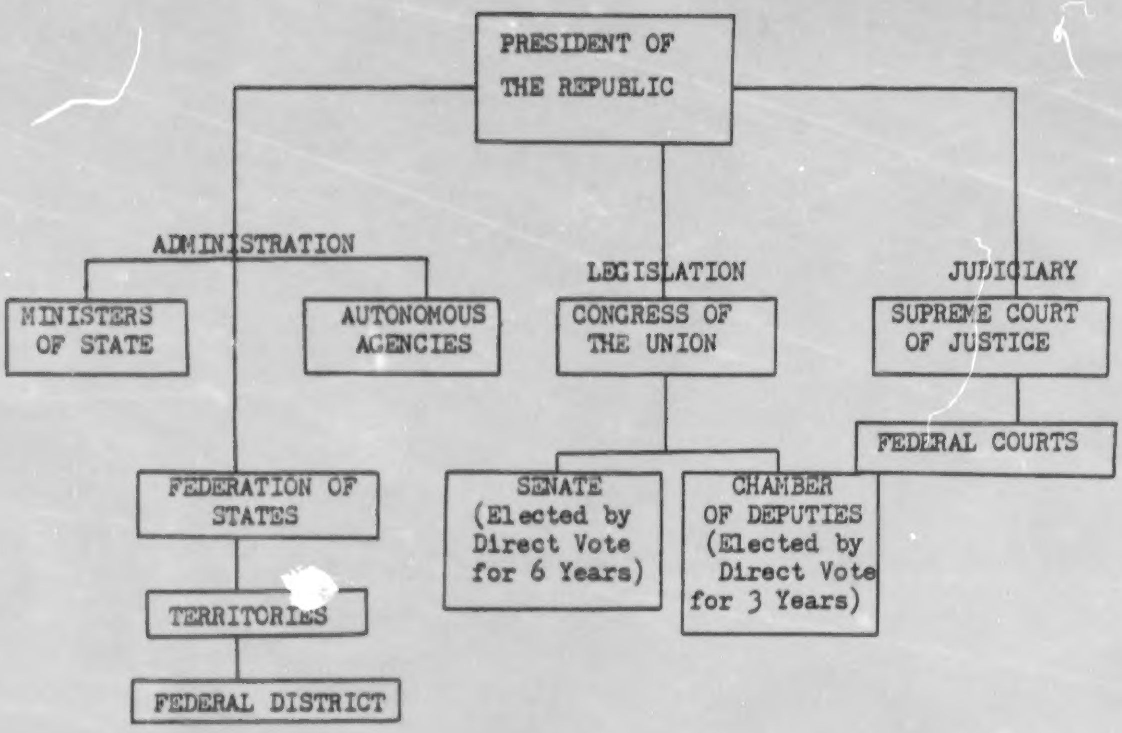
I Freedom of religious beliefs being guaranteed by Article 24, the standard which shall guide such education shall be maintained entirely apart from any religious doctrine and, based on the results of scientific progress, shall strive against ignorance and its effects, servitudes, fanaticism and prejudices. Moreover:

a) it shall be democratic, considering democracy not only as a legal structure and a political regieme, but as a system of life founded on a constant economic, social and cultural betterment of the people;

b) it shall be national insofar as -- without hostility or exclusiveseness -- it shall achieve the understanding of our problems, the utilization of our resources, the defense of our political independence, the assurance of our economic independence, and the continuity and growth of our culture: and

FIGURE I

The Mexican System of Government


PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION
LEGISLATION
JUDICIARY
MINISTERS OF STATE
AUTONOMOUS AGENCIES
CONGRESS OF THE UNION
SUPREME COURT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL COURTS
FEDERATION OF STATES
SENATE (Elected by Direct Vote for 6 Years)
CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES (Elected by Direct Vote for 3 Years)
TERRITORIES
FEDERAL DISTRICT

Source: John Howard, Mexico - The Land and Its People, (London; MacDonald Educational, 1976) p.55

c) it shall contribute to better human relationships, not only with the elements which it contributes toward strengthening and at the same time inculcating, together with respect for the dignity of the person and the integrity of the family, the conviction of the general interest of society, but also by the care which it devotes to the ideals of brotherhood and equality of rights of all men, avoiding privileges of race, creed, class, sex or persons.

II Private persons may engage in education al all kinds and grades. But as regards elementary, secondary and normal education (and that of any kind or grade designed for laborers and farm workers) they must previously obtain, in every case, the express authorization of the public power. Such authorization may be refused or revoked by decisions against which there can be no judicial proceedings or resource.

III Private institutions devoted to education of the kinds and grades specified in the preceeding section must be without exception in conformity with the provisions of Sections I and II of the first paragraph of this article and must also be in harmony with official plans and programs.

IV Religious corporations, ministers of religion, stock companies which exclusively or predominantly engage in educational activities, and associations or companies devoted to propagation of any religious creed shall not in any way participate in institutions giving elementary, secondary and normal education and education for laborers or field workers.

V The State may in its discretion withdraw at any time the recognition of official validity of studies conducted in private institutions.

VI Elementary education shall be compulsory.

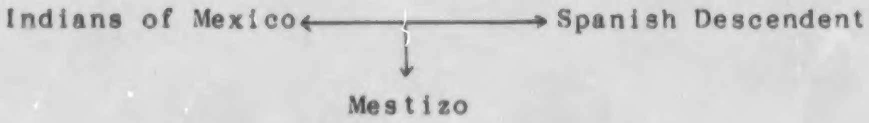
VII All education given by the State shall be free.

VIII The Congress of the Union, with a view to unifying and co-ordinating education throughout the Republic, shall issue the necessary laws for dividing the social function of education among the Federation, the States and the Municipalities, for fixing the appropriate financial allocations for this public service

> and for establishing the penalties applicable to officials who do not comply with or enforce the pertinent provisions, as well as the penalties applicable to all those who infringe such provisions.[4]

Definition of Indian in Mexico

David Holden states, "The definition for Indian in Mexico appears to be a person who speaks one of the Indian languages or dialects. They may be bilingual with Spanish or not." He states that the proportion of Indians who are bilingual has been increasing at the last census (1970) appears to outnumber the unilingual Indians by a ratio of about 2.5 to 1. Twenty years earlier the proportions were equal. A corollory of the increasing bilingualism among Mexican Indians is their apparent disappearance in relative terms. For though the number of Indians appears to be increasing, relative to the demographic growth of the population of the country as a whole it is slower. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that as the indians learn Spanish, there is less likelihood of them admitting to being Indian.[5]



A member of the Mexican national culture who is a blend of Indian and Spanish elements.

Using a literal interpretation, the word mestizo and the Canadian word metis means the same thing, ie. descendant of Indians and whites.

Indian Mexico

The symbol of the eagle on a cactus with a serpent in its mouth is the national symbol of Mexico and is seen today on the flag, currency and government seals. It arises from a wandering tribe of Aztec Indians who pased through the village of Mexico around 1345 and who fulfilled an ancient prophecy when they saw an eagle perched on a cactus eating snake. On that spot - an island in Lake Texaco they built their capital city, Tenochtitlan.

The Aztecs, always led by their god of war, Huitzilopochtli, were an aggressive people. They conquered many neighbouring tribes, taking captives for slaves and sacrificial purposes. The Aztec deities were worshipped with offerings of beating hearts, torn from the victims chests with obsidian knives. Other forms of human sacrifice included the decapitation of women, the drowning of children and the flaying of victims. The intent of these acts, according to Aztec belief was to insure the continuance of their world.

On a daily basis, the empire collected taxes and received payments from their tributary provinces in the form of goods and products such as maize, beans and cotton cloaks. When the Spanish arrived in 1519, the Aztecs were the richest tribe in Mexico, collecting tribute from all the peoples between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific and as far south as Guatemala.

Both the Meso-American and the Andean peoples lived in highly developed sophisticated civilizations.

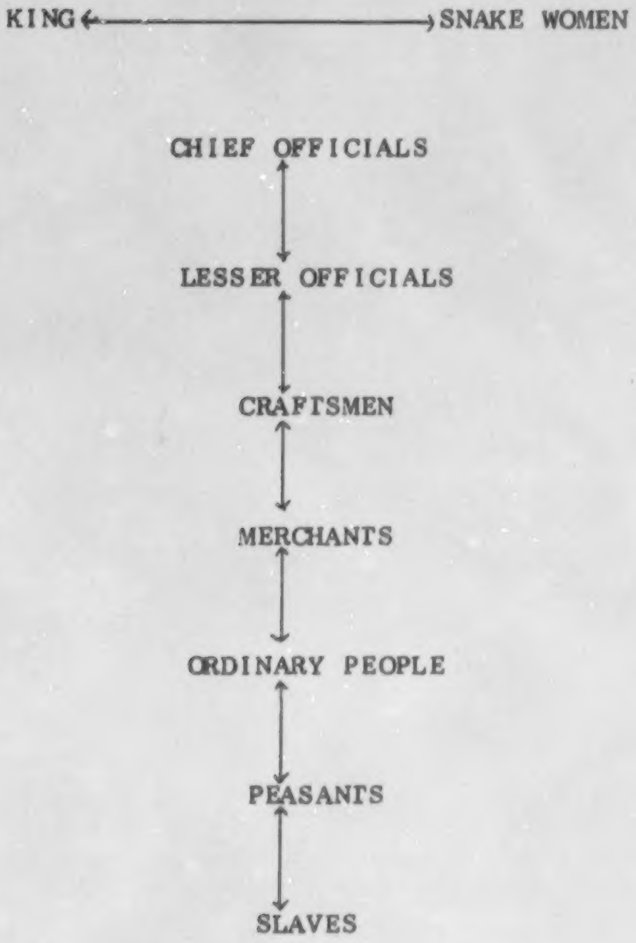
> ...The Spanish had the large concentrations of population to worry about and were faced with having only a few people to administer the millions that were here. That the millions were exploited remains without saying and that the exploitation was brutal is also obvious. However, at no time was genocide a policy and at no time did the Spanish Crown approve of the damage being done to the Indians. The purpose was to Christianize and to extract wealth, not to replace. This last was done only incidentally.[6]

When the first Spanish colonizers came to Mexico, they observed a great civilization of Indians, the Aztecs; they were impressed by the Indians' way of life and their 'standard of living' was better than that of the Spanish.

The Indian civilizations of Mexico, Central America and the Andes had farming societies the equal of European ones. They also had large urban populations, equal to or greater than the Europeans and an economy and agricultural technology to support them. Further the political and religious systems were as elaborate any found elsewhere. Art, mathematics, astronomy were highly sophisticated even though they had no alphabet, nor had they developed the metallurgy that was possessed by the Europeans. Finally their trade was directed inland and consequently they had not developed the maritime skills associated with Europe.

FIGURE 2

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE OF THE AZTECS


KING
SNAKE WOMEN
CHIEF OFFICIALS
LESSER OFFICIALS
CRAFTSMEN
MERCHANTS
ORDINARY PEOPLE
PEASANTS
SLAVES

Source: Laurette Sejourne, *Burning Water: Thought and Religion in Ancient Mexico*, (Berkely: Shambalam 1876)

There are two significant accomplishments made by the Indian civilizations. The first is that they invented and used the concept of zero. Evidence suggests they were further along in this than the Europeans, or the Arabs as the Maya's invention of "zero" appears to have preceded the Arabs by about three centuries. The second, they had domesticated a larger variety of fruits and vegetables than had been achieved in the Old World.

Religion was the centrifugual force of Aztec life, It was the essence of their existence and like other governments, theirs was a theocracy. The gods ruled, the priests interpreted and the people obeyed (see governmental structure of the Aztecs). Religion was integrally linked with fear. So the people constantly tried to assuage the anger of the gods through the sacrifice of humans and animals, and offerings of food and flowers. For the people believed the gods fed on human blood and would grow weak if not supplied with victims. After the sacrifice, the victims were regarded as embodiments of the deity and portions of their bodies were sometimes ritualistically eaten by priests and warriors to gain strength. As well as the god of war, the Aztecs worshipped many other gods, including the rain god, the sun god, the moon god, the earth mother, the god of corn, and the god of plantings. Although religious celebrations were bloody, they were also festive occasions.[7]

Spanish Conquest

When 555 Spaniards landed in Mexico, it would not have been difficult for the Aztec warriors to wipe them out. However, the Aztec leader, Moctezuma, was a moody, sensitive, highly superstitious man, and a set of coincidental events prevented him from acting.

Moctezuma knew the legend of Quetzalcoatl. Quetzal means "feathers" and coatl translates as "snake"; thus Quetzalcoatl is known as the plumed serpent. There is no one story of the origin of the legend. Quetzalcoatl was revered by the Toltecs, and legends describe him as bearded and having fair skin and light hair, all qualities very rare among indians. He was wiser than his peers and his objection to sacrifice and slavery provided a humanizing influence to the tribe.

Unfortunately, his ideas clashed with those of the established priests, and Qetzalcoatl was forced to flee. As he headed in a southeasterly direction, he promised to return. The significant fact about the legend for the Aztec people was that the year predicted for his return was 1519. Thus for Moctezuma to believe that this light skinned man who came from the east might be Quetzalcoatl is not without foundation.

Further Moctezuma's apprehensions were increased by the many omens that appeared that year, including comets and earth tremors. As a result the ruler sent emissaries to meet Hernan Cortes' desire to conquer this rich land. To forestall his followers from refusing to assist in his goal, Cortes burned all his ships, cutting off any chance of retreat.

The Spanish were very fortunate. First the Indians had never seen horses, and men on horseback added to the belief that they might be gods. Moreover many Indian tribes believed they had been exploited by the Aztecs for the past 100 years, adding hope to credulity. Cortes formed alliances with these tribes, and by the time he arrived at the gates of Tenochtitlan he had an army of some 7,000 Spanish and Indian followers.

Cortes entered Tenochtitlan on November 12, 1519 and was received as a guest of Moctezuma. As long as the Aztecs continued thinking that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl, all was well but the Spaniard knew that the Indians would soon discover the truth.

Therefore, Cortes and six of his officers put Moctezuma under house arrest. He was charged with ordering an attack on the small colony of Veracruz. Moctezuma protested his innocence and Cortes threatened to kill him. If Moctezuma had died, the Spaniards would have been annihilated in a few hours, but Moctezuma lived and Cortes became the ruler of Mexico

Many tribes accepted Spanish rule and the Catholic religion. Tribes submitted according to custom, because they assumed the conqueror's god to be stronger than their own. They also felt that Spanish rule would be better than domination by the Aztecs. The reality, unfortunately, was trading relative freedom for serfdom.

The Spanish in Mexico were considerably cruler compared to most European colonial powers. A partial explanation was the immense area under Spanish control. By 1535 Spanish colonies spread from Mexico through Central America down the western coast of South America to ChilE, and in later years further expeditions extended the borders of Nueva Espana to what is now part of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California.

For 300 years the Spanish ruled and 61 viceroys governed. These men personally represented the reigning Spanish king. They lived in regal splendour. Land was granted to every soldier who had served under Cortes and as favours to prominent Spaniards. People who wished to settle the land were also given tracts. Hacendados, the hacienda owners, built enormous mansions on estates that covered hundreds of square miles while the Indian people who were the servants provided all the labour for nothing more than their room and board.

There was no middle class, only a few rich and the masses of poor. Mexico had an economic umbilical cord with Spain. Mexico was restricted from exporting to countries other than Spain and could only import from the mother country. Thus the Indian people were never provided the means to develop independently

Independence

At the time of independence in the early 19th century Mexico was approximately 6 million, about 3.5 million Indians, 2.5 million creoles (people of Spanish blood born in Mexico) and Mestizos, and 40,000 Spanish who had all the power. The Spanish were greatly resented by the mass of the population for although the Spanish predominated the ranks of the aristocracy, many creoles had been educated in Europe and were highly politicized. The Mestizos who worked as shopkeepers and ranchers constituted the forerunners of a middle class. At the bottom of the ladder were the Indians, but the idea of independence united Creole, Mestizo and Indian alike. Their enemy were the Spanish, known by the native born as gachupines, or "wearers of spurs" which expressed the feeling common to Creoles, Mestizos and Indians of being constantly goaded by the Spaniards sent to govern them.

Along with the domestic dissatisfaction, events in Europe catalyzed action for independence. The decisive factor was the abdication of the Spanish monarch Charles IV in 1808 and then the imprisonment of his son, Ferdinand VIII, by Napoleon. Native Latin Americans refused to recognize tribute to the Bonaparte regime. In 1810, revolutions sprang up throughout the Spanish Empire in Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru and Columbia. By 1824 every country on the continent had own its freedom from Spain.[8]

Economic Wealth

The economic wealth of the Indians has always centered around the market. Money as such was unknown as the system functioned effectively through bartering.[9]

Today Mexico has the fastest growth rate in Latin America at 8%. But for the Indians of Mexico, life has not gotten any easier as inflation is around 30% and 45% of the total population don't have a regular job (undoubtedly if statistics were kept, the Indian percentage would be higher). Moreover the disparity between rich and poor is perhaps the greatest in Latin America.

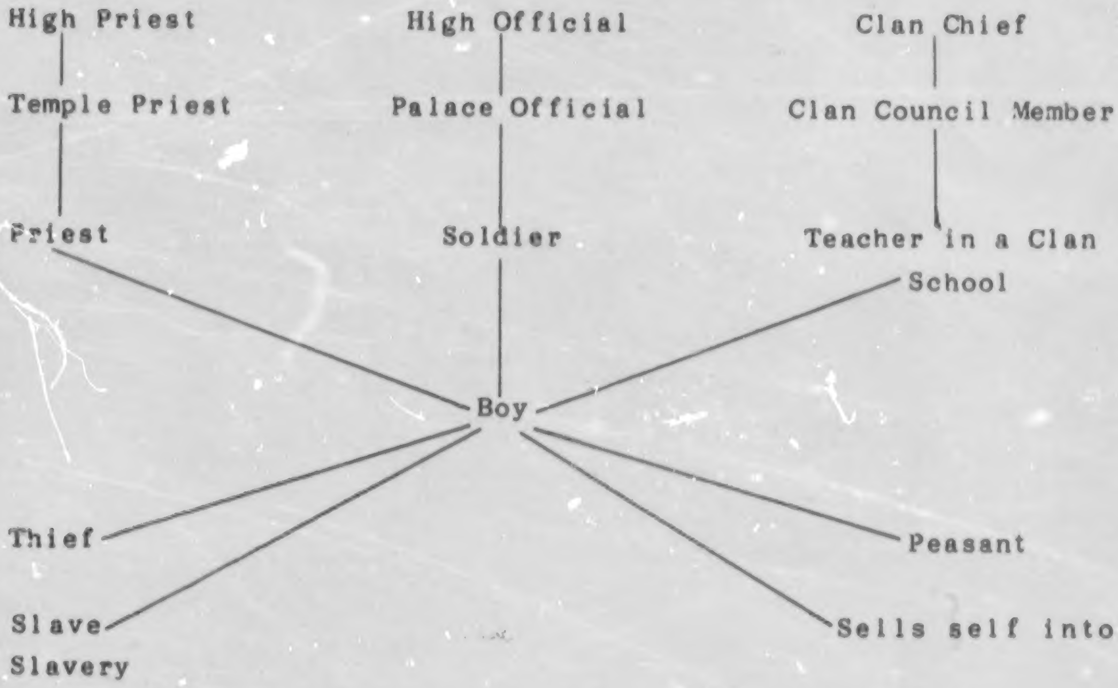
> The 'two nations' that have existed in Mexico ever since the Spanish conquest are still there, and the distinction is tending to harden as the

> rich get richer. It is underlined by racial differences. Mexicans are proud of their multi-racial society, But the general rule of thumb is that, in practice, those of European origin are to be found at the top of the pile and those of Indian origin at the bottom.[10]

Education of Children in Aztec World

Before the Spanish arrived, the education of children was the responsibility of the family unit. When a child was born, astrology determined the day the child was to be named - a very important consideration. As a boy grew older, the father would teach his son his trade. For example if his father were a goldsmith, he would be taught that specific trade, handed down generation to generation. However a boy had other alternatives, all illustrated in the chart below, he might become a priest, soldier or teacher in a clan school, etc... The education of a girl was limited to that odd duties surrounding the household.[11]

FIGURE 3


High Priest
Temple Priest
Priest
High Official
Palace Official
Soldier
Clan Chief
Clan Council Member
Teacher in a Clan School
Boy
Thief
Slave Slavery
Peasant
Sells self into

Source: Judith Crosher, The Aztecs, (London: MacDonald Educational, 1976†

Mayan Education

Mayan education had certain common elements with the Aztecs, Mr. Gamm observed,

> Sons of the nobility were given a more thorough education, being assembled in special houses, where they received instruction in the religious ceremonies, astrology, history, and the calendar, from special priests. Similarly daughters of the nobility were received into special communities where they were placed under the guidance of the Maya equivalent of the mother superior of a convent.
>
> Among the duties that developed upon them while members of these convents were sweeping and cleaning of the temples and the care of the sacred fire. Any lapse of chastity during this

> period was punished by death, but the girls were free to leave the convents and marry whenever their parents might decide; in fact, this was the common rule.[12]

> Since the conquest and up to now, the education that has been provided by our schools has not been an indigenous education but an education for indigenous children, elaborated with the sole purpose of reproducing at each historical phase, the cultural domination, the racial discrimination, the economic exploitation and the political manipultaion.[13]

Missionaries

As with all Christian missionaries their role was to christianize and assimilate the Indians into the European way of life. While christianizing they taught the basics of reading, writing, christian praying and singing. As a rule the children of the aristocracy as well as the clan chief were the first to be educated by the missionaries. They were taught that their beliefs were superstitious and were encouraged to discontinue the use of their religion in order to become good Christians. Christianity has always been pushed on the indigenous people of the Americas as the only religion to be followed. Missionaries have always posed a threat to the Indigenous people in their religion and their way of life.[14]

Indian Education in Mexico

> Formal schooling for the Indians of the Chiapas Highlands gained its first real impetus during the Cardenas regime of the late 1930's. Prior to that time a few Indians attended schools in some of the tribal centers. The children usually were forced to attend and were virtual servants to the teachers. They were severly punished for failure to learn their lessons well and for other infractions of the rules, such as the use of the mother tongue even before they had learned any Spanish. Often they were made to kneel on pebbles or fruit pits for lengthy periods of time in order that their lessons might penetrate; many teachers punctuated their instruction with a leather strap or a thorny switch. Since most of the students in the village schools were ladios, the Indian received

> considerable abuse from their classmates as well as from the teachers.

> Indian parents did all they could to save their children from the terrible fate of attending school. For example, in Chamula, in the 1930's, school-aged boys were dressed as girls, at least when they came to market, so that they might not be caught and forced into school (Castellanos 1970); girls were not made to attend. There and elsewhere children were hidden in the forests. Sometimes for days on end, so that census takers might not count them. Sad, indeed, was the fate of the children who had to attend school.[15]

Although the Mexican rural school of the pre-war era was as much a community center designed for development of the community, 81 percent of communities with less than 4,000 people had no school in 1931, even though the Constitution of 1917 had stipulated free, obligatory, fundamental education for all Mexicans. As well only 2 percent of the students continued beyond the second grade.

As time progressed, especially under the Cardena's regime, more rural schools were opened as well as the development of federally-supported Indian boarding schools - the latter were intended to equal Mestizo schools but rarely succeeded.

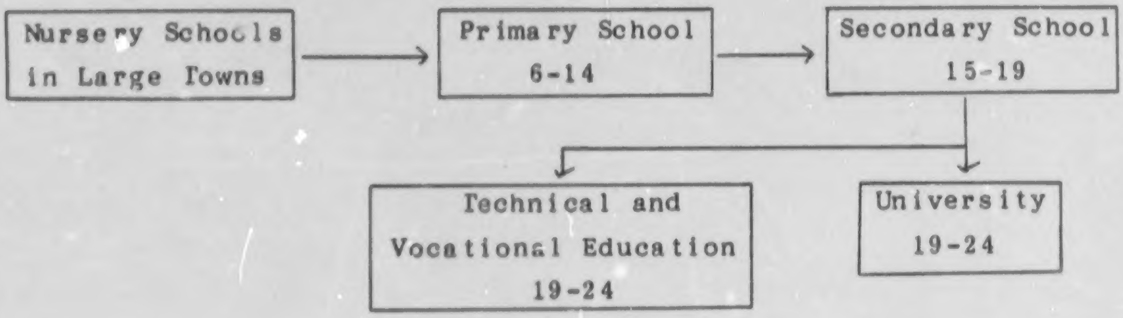
In 1948, the National Indian Institute (INI) was established, a product of the inter-American Congress of 1940 and the efforts of Pablo Caso, its first director. The INI opened a number of schools for Indians. In 1964 INI and federal schools were combined.

The Secretary of Education, Torres Bedet, announced new educational directions in 1958 which were still in effect as late as 1971. These emphasized national over individual goals; curriculum based on the nation's history and its present needs; and fundamental education as the basis for curriculum in the first four grades.

At the time of the INI -federal school amalgamation, the federal government adopted an approach of teaching where possible the local Indian language in the first four grades (Plan de Educacion para 1964) as suggested by the INI. By 1973 reading primers were in fourteen of the fifty Indian languages spoken in Mexico. However the intent was acculturation of the Indians since nothing else changed.[16]

FIGURE 4

The Mexican System of Education


Nursery Schools in Large Towns
Primary School 6-14
Secondary School 15-19
Technical and Vocational Education 19-24
University 19-24

Source: Nancy Modiano, Indian Education in the Chiapas Highlands, (New York: Holt, Rinehart Winston Inc., 1973) p.87

Spanish is used everywhere as the official language of Mexico. According to the following tables, large numbers of indigenous people speak their Indian language first and learn Spanish as a second language.

The tables are presented, bearing in mind that earlier it has been argued the increasing bilingualism of the Indian people has resulted in a decline in their population as they no longer recognized themselves as Indian.

As with the Canadian Indian, the language of the dominant culture is taught in the schools which for the Mexican Indian means Spanish. Unless, a new appreciation of the Indian self materializes, the future of the Mexican Indian culture does not look promising.

TABLE I

States in the Republic of Mexico with the Largest Numbers of Speakers of Indigenous Languages

STATE	INDIAN SPEAKERS	MONOLINGUAL
	1950	
1. Oaxaco	583,853	212,520
2. Peubla	297,490	118,971
3. Ucatan	279,380	43,523
4. Veracruz	252,739	87,318
5. Chiapas	198,087	104,244
6. Mexico	183,051	39,207
7. Hidalgo	179,629	60,401
8. Guerrero	124,693	59,241
9. San Luis Potosi	89,096	28,972
10. Michoacan	51,273	12,106
11. Campeche	32,816	5,351
12. Sonora	25,058	1,892

STATE	INDIAN SPEAKERS	MONOLINGUAL
	1970	
1. Oaxaco	677,347	206,323
2. Veracruz	360,309	89,623
3. Ucatan	357,370	56,570
4. Peubla	346,140	94,194
5. Chiapas	287,836	147,720
6. Hidalgo	201,368	77,868

7. Mexico	200,729	20,683
8. Guerrero	160,182	85,091
9. San Luis Potosi	113,898	25,953
10. Distrito Federal	68,660	1,447
11. Michocan	62,851	12,326
12. Campeche	55,031	5,920

TABLE II

Indigenous Languages in the Republic of Mexico with the Largest Numbers of Speakers

1950		1970	
1. Nahuatl	641,334	1. Nahuatl	799,394
2. Maya	328,255	2. Maya	454,675
3. Zapotec	226,995	3. Zapotec	285,345
4. Otomi	185,656	4. Mixtec	233,235
5. Mixtec	185,470	5. Otomi	221,062
6. Totonac	106,696	6. Totonac	124,840
7. Masahua	84,125	7. Mazahua	104,729
8. Mazatec	77,827	8. Mazatec	101,541
9. Tzotzil	74,827	9. Tzeltal	99,412
10. Huastec	66,646	10. Tzotzil	95,383

TABLE III

Indigenous Languages in the Republic of Mexico with the Largest Numbers of Monolingual Speakers

1950		1970	
1. Nahuatl	212,813	1. Nahuatl	227,757
2. Mixtec	76,946	2. Mextec	79,332
3. Zapotec	60,680	3. Maya	68,459
4. Otomi	57,559	4. Tzeltal	57,314

5. Totonac	54,333	5. Mazatec	54,282
6. Maya	50,912	6. Tzotzil	50,329
7. Mazatec	47,167	7. Zapotec	49,652
8. Tzotzil	44,103	8. Totonac	42,262
9. Tzeltal	31,856	9. Otomi	37,701
10.Mixe	21,005	10. Chol	30,434

Source of TABLES I, II, II: Joseph White Cotton, *The Zaputecs - Princes, Priests and Peasants*, (University of Oklahoma Press,1977)

Primary - School Textbooks

What follows is founded essentially on a study of Indian children in Heuyapan but which will be assumEd as reflective, in general, of the national level.[18]

Village children study geography, national language (grammar), history, civics, arithmetic and natural science. Since 1959, the National Commission of Free Textbooks has been publishing and distributing all these subjects in a textbook and workbook series to every community where there exists a primary school affiliated with the federal government. The books were written essentially from the perspective of the Mestizo working class child, who is usually, but not always, pictured in an urban environment. If, and when an Indian is portrayed, he (she) is represented as an outsider, either as the former ruler of Mexico who practiced noble but strange customs, or as the poor humble Indian of the present who should be treated paternalistically by the Mestizo youngster and helped to assimilate.

The texts emphasize how wonderful it is to be a working class Mestizo, and the village students are pressured to conform to this idealized image of the Mexican and to reject their own Indian identity. Thus, the children are taught that they should strive to overcome their Indian-ness, because if they do not, they will remain on the fringe just like most of the Indian people who appear on the pages of their texts; smiling, gentle observers who rarely get to participate in the fun.

The books in the first grade introduce the children to the ideal of a Mestizo home.

Students also learn about the perfect Mestizo family: the loving mother, the hard working father and the respectful children who adore school.

The effect is obvious, the children compare the unfavourable situation of their own daily routines and that of the lucky little boy in the reader who starts his day with a good-morning kiss from his mother, a warm bath and a well-balanced breakfast served by his gentle, smiling mama.

The only direct reference to Indians in the first grade reader appears in a poem entitled "Indian Boy". The poem tells of a Mestizo child who asks an Indian boy to come and play, telling him how all Mexican children should love one another. The Mestizo then says he will teach the Indian boy to read because all children of Mexico want to learn.

At the end of the first-grade reader is the first history lesson. It is about Hidalgo, who is referred to as the Father of the Country. According to the writer, Hidalgo loved the Indians, and he taught them how to read. The trust here again is the wisdom and compassion the Mestizo has for his Indian brother.

The second-grade text re-emphasizes the theme of how dutiful Mestizos help the Indians assimilate and how good Indians take advantage of these opportunities available to them.

The second-grade reader teaches the children about the history of Tenochtitlan and the Spanish Conquest. Yet no reference is made to the fact that the Aztecs are the ancestors of modern Mexicans.

In the third grade there are two histories. The text first presents the student with the glories of Mexico's prehispanic past, and here there is reference to the fact that these Indians are the Mestizo's noble ancestors then the story highlights Mexico's other heritage, that of the Spanish conquerors.

In essence, the history recounts the history of Indians and Spaniards and how they met. The two groups are described as having contributed to the development of contemporary Mexico, although it is clear in the text that neither alone represents the modern Mexican. The fourth-grade reader ignores racial and cultural origins but rather presents the complete history of the hybrid Mexican of today. The text relates how the Mestizo began in the colonial period and as the fourth-grade text introduces the chapter on the subject it underlines the significance of this history as follows:

> During those three centuries (1521-1821) two races and two cultures, the indigenous and the Spanish were mixed. (And from the mixture) was formed the present-day Mexican people (the people) to whom you belong.

In the fifth and sixth grades, history books go beyond national affairs and view Mexico in the context of the history of North and South America.

Although the Indian is not mentioned at all in the sixth grade reader, the fifth grade reader presents the concept of Mexico's indigenous people as envisioned by contemporary Mestizo-oriented Mexico. The story in the reader is about the adventures of a class of pupils in Mexico City who go on several trips around the country. On two of the trips the children visit archealogical ruins in the Yucatan and Chiapas. Their guide relates how there are eighty-one distinct archealogical zones in Mexico and 12,000 registered ruins. The students also visit the Tarahumara Indians. Here they are told of difficult working conditions of the people, their indigenous customs and the fact that they are slowly improving themselves by sending their children to school.

History of the Radio Schools

As with the previous section, this one presents a study of radio schools in one area, but is applied broadly.[19]

Although the missionaries were able to bring the native population together into concentrations, their educational effort failed. Furthermore the boarding schools could not hope to cover the educational demand of a dispersed population. For this reason the Radio Schools were begun in 1955. These were founded on the assumption education could be extended beyond the boarding schools to reach the larger part of the native population. Moreover they would complement the educational effort of the state and federal government. Radio Schools were designed for those areas where there was little possibility of setting up an official school. For this reason they were directed from the beginning to a young formal school population.

The Radio Schools were initially outgrowths of the Jesuit boarding schools. Consequently it may be assumed that from the beginning they shared their objective of "evangelizing and civilizing" the Indian children. They were also established to complement the official educational effort which meant they would have to offer primary education. For example in 1957, the Tarahumara Radio Schools gained legal status as a cultural extension of the Iberoamericanco University in Mexico City. The permission of the Ministry of Education was given to teach the first two grades of primary. A little later they received informal permission to add two more grades (to the fourth grade) as an experiment. A fundamental objective was to be able to teach primary grades and that the graduates of the Radio Schools who wanted to, might continue their studies in regular schools. Thus the educational content was based almost exclusively on the official curriculum, and the free textbooks were used as the basis for radio programming.

The Radio Schools for the Tarahumara area work as follows:

> The studio and central transmitter are at the mission headquarters of Sisoguichi. The classroom radios are tuned solely to the frequency of the Sisoguichi transmitter. Two teachers from a primary normal school teach all of the radio classes. At the time of this study (1971) there were 46 schools with 1,081 students spread out over 10 municipalities in the Sierra. Each school has one or two "auxiliary teachers"

> -- persons who have had no more than primary education themselves. The Auxiliary's job is to organize the classes, transmit the information received by radio, supervise, guide and correct the work of the students. These teachers have received training courses during the summer in Sisoguichi where they learned and practiced teaching methods, and reviewed and deepened their grasp of the subject matter they teach.

As a rule there is only one classroom for all the grades. Each subject has one hour broadcasting with 15 minutes assigned to each school grade. For the 15 minutes for a particular grade, the pupils of that grade work directly with the radio; in the remaining 45 minutes they do their individual exercises. Thus although the broadcasts are intended for specific grade levels, the schools take on the qualities of a non-graded school.

The Radio Schools are also intended to serve a racially mixed school population. As was noted previously the promotion of a Mexican identity through education is a fundamental tenet. Consequently the curriculum is based on the official curriculum, which is closely followed by the radio broadcasts. The broadcasts are in Spanish, even though a large percentage of the Indian population speak only their own language. Furthermore certain Indian groups have remained isolated from the whites and so racial divison between the two populations is not only a clear social fact but is likely to influence schooling as well.

The study of the Tarahumara stated:

> Taking the student's ethnic group as an independent variable, one finds a significant difference appears in the results of the Spanish tests and overall mean achievement but not to a lesser intellectual capacity of the Tarahumara students but rather to linguistic and cultural factors.
>
> Another datum in support of this hypothesis is that the level of significance in achievement difference between the two groups increase from first to second grade. In contrast to what the data showed, it was expected that this difference would be reduced. The above data

> suggest that the low achievement of the Tarahumara may be explained more by cultural factors (content that is foreign to both the situation and the people rather than by factors of ability or intelligence.
>
> A student's ethnic background is clearly a determining factor in his achievement. One may conclude this section by saying that the Radio Schools are largely benefitting the white population, perhaps because of the content and method of education they use.

Analysis of Statistical Data between Mexico and Canada

Before making the analysis of the education situation between Mexico and Canada, an important point should be re-emphasized, which is that in Mexico, children of native ancestry are taught in the early years of the educational system that they are Mexicans first and of native ancestry second. Refer back to the section entitled Primary School Textbooks. All the statistical data on Mexico is based on the national level and no figures are made available for the breakdown of Indian student data. Therefore only assumptions can be made of native people involved in the educational process. Yet the statistical conclusion drawn on the Tarahumara in the previous section are again assumed to be valid as a general rule - that is performance levels are lower for Indian children than their Mestizo counterparts but this is a function of culture, and language not lower intellect.

Total Expenditures on Education

In 1970, 10,798,600,000 pesos was spent on total expenditures for education and for 1977, 79,017,645,000 pesos was spent. An increase of 68,219,045,000 pesos over a seven year period. Of the total for 1977, 53,627,996, pesos was spent on current expenditures for education which includes expenditures on administration, emoluments of teachers and supporting teaching staff, school books and other teaching materials, scholarships, welfare services and all other expenditures for the maintenance of school buildings. The amount spent on capital expenditures was 6,257,649,000 pesos for 1977 which includes land, buildings, construction of new schools, equipment and also loan transactions. The total expenditure as a percentage of the gross national product was 4.8%. The gross national product at market prices was 73,720,000,000 (U.S.). Compared with Canada, which in 1970 spent 7,244,700,000 dollars on total expenditures for education and in 1977, 16,721,589,000 dollars which resulted in an increase of 9,476,889,000 dollars over a seven year period. Of the total expenditure for 1977, 14,944,978,000 dollars was spent on current expenditures. As a percentage of the total it was 89.7%. The amount spent on capital expenditures for 1977 was 1,726,611,000 dollars. The total expenditure as a percentage of the gross National Product was 8.0%. The Gross National Product at market prices was 194,660,000,000 (U.S.).[20]

The Mexicans have increased spending on education by nearly 800 percent in 7 years whereas Canada has increased its spending by a little over 200 percent. Furthermore, Mexico is spending a larger percentage of funding on capital construction relative to current expenditure than is Canada. Nonetheless, Mexico spends less on education as percentage of GNP than does Canada. Combine this with the fact the peso is one-twentieth of the Canadian dollar and the population of Mexico nearly three times that of Canada (64,594,000 to 23,280,000 in 1977) then the amount spent by Mexico on each student is far less than is the case in Canada.

Total Current Expenditure on Education

Mexico spent 53,627,996,000 pesos on the total current expenditure for the year 1977. Of that amount 35,623,716,000 pesos was paid out for emoluments of teachers and the amount not distributed through administration was 10,258,830,000 pesos. We can assume that much of Mexico's expenditure on education is held up at the administration level. The amount spent on scholarships and grants was 207,816,000 pesos.

In Canada total current expenditure was 14,875,416,000 dollars, of which 9,180,922,000 dollars was allocated for emoluments of teachers. Another 2,174,866,000 dollars is allocated to administration or not distributed.

Administration costs as a percentage of total current expenditures is approximately 14 percent for Canada and 19% for Mexico. Obviously the more money absorbed by administration, the less is available for grass roots education. In Mexico, the ones most likely to get hurt are the Indians.

Enrollment Ratios

The enrollment ratios for Mexico in 1977 was 116% at the first level.[21] The ratio of students entering the second level decreases to 39% and further drops to 11.43% at the third level.

Compared with Canada which in 1977 had an enrollment ration of 101% at the first level and 89% for the second level. At the third level it was 37.66%

The first level includes grade 1-8, the second which is the high school level and the third level pertains to colleges and universities. All of the mentioned ratios are based on the total population.

The total school enrollment for Indian students in Canada was approximately 20% students remaining to grade 12 from grade 2. The national retention rate was 75% students remaining to grade 12 from grade 2.[22]

Since there are no available figures for Indian student enrollment ratios for Mexico the assumption (based on our knowledge of the Indian situation) is that a large decrease of students leaving the education system at the secondary level must be most seriously reflected among Indian population.

Pupil-Teacher Ratios at the Primary Level

For the year 1976, Mexico had 53,571 schools, there were 274,717 teachers and a student population of 12,148,221 pupils. The key figure here is that the pupil/teacher ratio was 44 students to one teacher. An assumption can be made that in the rural areas of Mexico, the pupil/teacher ratio could be much higher.

As for Canada, there were 255,900 teachers with a student population of 2,373,784 pupils. The pupil/teacher ratio was 19 students per teacher.

Without questioning the quality of the teaching personnel, it is readily apparent that the vast difference in pupil/teacher ratios will result in an inferior level of learning time for the Mexican student relative to his Canadian counterpart.

Entrance Age

The entrance age for the education system for both Mexico and Canada at the first level is 6 years of age. The second level entrance age is 12 years and for the third level 15 years of age. Mexico's compulsory education age limits is 6-14 and for Canada 6-15 years of age. The duration of years a student must attend in Mexico is 6 years and for Canada 8-10 years.

The shorter period of time by law for the Mexican student is undoubtedly a combination of factors, including greater emphasis on non-scholastic activities as well as physical limitations on the education system to deliver.

Teacher/Pupil Ratio at Second Level

In 1977, Mexico had 207,917 teachers at the second level, compared with 109,470 teachers in 1970. An increase of 98,447 teachers over a seven year period. The number of students enrolled at the second level for 1977 was 3,502,830 and for 1970 the number of students was 1,534,342 an increase of 1,918,488 students over a seven year period.

In 1970 Canada had 97,000 teachers at the second level. The number of students enrolled at the second level for 1977 was 2,528,387 and for the 1970 the number of students was 1,636,913 an increase of 891,474 students over a seven year period.

The important difference to emphasize here is the growth in the education system in Mexico. This is a result of a high economic growth rate combined with one of the highest population growth rates in the Western Hemisphere.[23] Whether Mexico can sustain this increase in its education system is open to debate. But the educational needs of Indian children probably suffer under the continuing pressure to expand for the total population.

Number of Students Per 100,000 Inhabitants Entering Post-Secondary Education

In 1977, Mexico had 1,034 students per 100,000 inhabitants entering post-secondary education. The number of males entering this education level was 1,465 per 100,000 inhabitants and for females it 598 per 100,000 inhabitants. Canada for the same year had 3,548 students per 100,000 inhabitants. The number of males entering this education level was 3,689 per 100,000 inhabitants and for females it was 3,411 per 100,000 inhabitants. From the figures we can see that less than half of the student population for Mexico is female, whereas in Canada it is split equally between males and females. From the difference in male/female entry between the countries, it is logical to assume that in Mexico priority is given to the male.

In Canada, the number of Indian students enrolled in post-secondary education is about half the Canadian average as a percentage.[24] The number of Mexican students reaching post-secondary education from the figures stated above are less than those of Canada so it is not illogical to assume the number of students of Indian ancestry is considerably below the national average for essentially the same reasons as in Canada - cultural differences combined with financial difficulties resulting in low retention rates at the primary and secondary level.

Adult Education

In 1970, Mexico had a total population of persons over 20 years of age of 20,951,564. Of this total 89.8 % had no schooling and only 2.6% had post-secondary education. In 1976, Canada had a total population of persons over 25 years of age of 12,618,015. Of this total 1.8% had no schooling and 31% had post-secondary education. For the same year approximately 40% of the rural Mexican population was illiterate while there is no listing for Canada. It is very likely the illiteracy rate is high among the rural Indian population of Mexico than of any other sector of that society. Even with the growth shown in the previous pages, the need of the Indian people for education services in Mexico to even approach Canadian standards requires tremendous efforts that do not presently appear to be in the offing.

Conclusions

It would be wrong to say the government is not aware of the special needs of the Indian people or that they are not making certain efforts in that direction. It has already been shown that there is a national Indian Institute and that the vernacular is taught in the primary grades. The Institute (INI) publishes under its Education Department (Departmento de Actividades Educationes) instructors' manuals which cover a variety of topics. For example, there is the Guia Didactical Para El Maestro - Patrimmino Cultural y Organizacio Social or the Teaching Guide on Cultural and Social Inheritance. Unfortunately, some of these materials are not particularly useful.

The Institute also publishes a magazine entitled Mexico Indigena which presents various topics of relevance to the indigenous people of Mexico. The Institute also publishes a bibliography which lists its various works relevant to Indian education among other topics.

The intention of the INI and the government itself in their proclamation is to seek a way in which the indigenous people can participate fully in Mexican life as Mexicans.

> Mexico no sera Mexico mientras nuestros indios-esten hacienadaos, empobrecidos y marginados in las montanas; mientras no les demos lo que tienen pleno dercho a tener por la justification de la historia.[25]

> Relatomos aqui en forma breve, la evolucion de la educaion en las zonas indignas de Mexico y su progeccion en el futuro, como uno de los aspectos mas importantes en el desarrollo de estas poblaciones y de su participacion en el desrrollo nacional.[26]

The above statement was made by the present President of Mexico, Jose Lopez Portillo, in 1975 and basically states that without the full participation of the Indian people there will be no Mexico. In line with its goal, bilingual and bicultural education is envisioned as a fundamental means to achieve it.

The objective of integration of the indigenous population through bilingual and bicultural education may seem honorable. But is it? It depends a great deal on the point of view and its application. The following section though not specifically dealing with education per se but presents some of the problems associated with it.

Letter from San Cristobal[27]

San Cristobal - high in the Sierra Madre where Mexicans speak no Spanish and celebrate mass by killing a chicken and passing the fire water instead of sacramental wine, a radio station brings only good news.

A small shack serves as its broadcast studio. Inside, a young Indian threw a switch and went on the air.

He spoke in fast, singsong tones, pierced with hissing sounds. The language, Tojolobal, an offshoot of Maya, is one that few understand.

A new school would be opened by the state governor, he told his listeners over the hills, and the president of the republic was visiting a dam. Not a word about protesting school teachers who had seized the town hall at nearby Chenalho or about the mayor of Syloa who had been forced to resign in a scandal.

As a young technician put on cheerful marimba music, the announcer explained "We don't do sensitive or sensation news. We have government propaganda, good news and useful information."

The station is a remarkable government institution called Radio Indigena, or Indian Radio. Its powerful transmitters beam into the far corners of the forests to the valley on the other side of Chiapas, Mexico's most Indian state. It broadcasts in the

Tzotzil language, in Tzeltal, Zoque, Chol and Tojolabla. All branches of the Maya language spoken in the once magnificent towns of this region 2,000 years ago. Since then they have turned into mutually unintelligible tongues spoken by about 250,000 people in hundreds of Indian communities.

This Indian Radio and three other stations that broadcast in some of this country's 58 Indian languages, are virtually the only consistent contact with the outside world for many of Mexico's 7 million Indians. Their potential use and abuse by the government is a subject of passionate debate among anthropologists.

There is praise for the stations ban on commercials and their "how to" programs on problems that are part of the Indian world.

But critics worry about the government being sole arbiter of what information is "good for Indians" and its role as the dominant interpreter of the outside world.

The radio programs, critics say, serve the government's policy of integrating the Indians as Mexicans into one Mexican nation.

"On the one hand the station carries folk tales and Indian music to echo the Indian identity", said a European anthropologist, "but ethnic awareness and pride in the true sense is definitely discouraged." The heroes presented in the history programs are national figures, people who have little in common with the Indians. There is no attempt to present local leaders either present or past.

The National Indian Institute replies that the government has no right to cut the Indians off and must provide a "National" option. Moreover, the Indians have "other interpreters of outside life. Just look at the range from progressive Catholic priests to conservative fundamentalist Protestants working among them," an official said.

A poignant example of the station's impact occurred recently when a call was broadcast that in Tuxtla, the state capital a meeting would be held for people interested in regularizing the titles to their land.

Over 20,000 men showed up in Tuxtla. Many had walked and travelled on buses for up to two days.

The press available in San Critobal's citizens who read Spanish is either El Sol, whose editor doubles as the state governor's press secretary, or the papers from Mexico City, whose arrival is erratic.

News not fit to print in those newspapers comes off a mimeograph machine, and students handout homemade leaflets on the narrow colonial streets or toss them through car windows. There are complaints about police, the army or other branches of officaldom, about land or union squabbles or peasants unjustly jailed. Justice, or rather, the absence of it, it the most widely used word.

Under the auspices of the local bishop, a critical magazine, The Parrot, is published monthly consisting of cartoons giving a non-establishment version of politics.

200

ENDNOTES

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[21] An excess of 100% means that there are more students at that level than there are children within the narrowly defined age group for that level. This is explained by older children starting late or remaining at that level. See Appendix A.

[22] Indian Conditions: A Survey, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1980)

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BRAZIL

INTRODUCTION

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world and occupies half of the South American continent. The official name of the country is Republica Federativa do Brazil. The official or national language is Portuguese. Brazil has twenty-two states, four territories and the Federal District. The capital is Brasilia, Federal District. The population at the 1978 figures was 115,397,000. The Gross National Product per capita was $1,570 (U.S.) for the year 1978. The average annual growth rate for the period 1970-77 was 6.7% and for the same period the population growth rate was 2.9%.[1] Most of the population lives in the coastal areas.

The form of government in Brazil is republican, headed by a President.

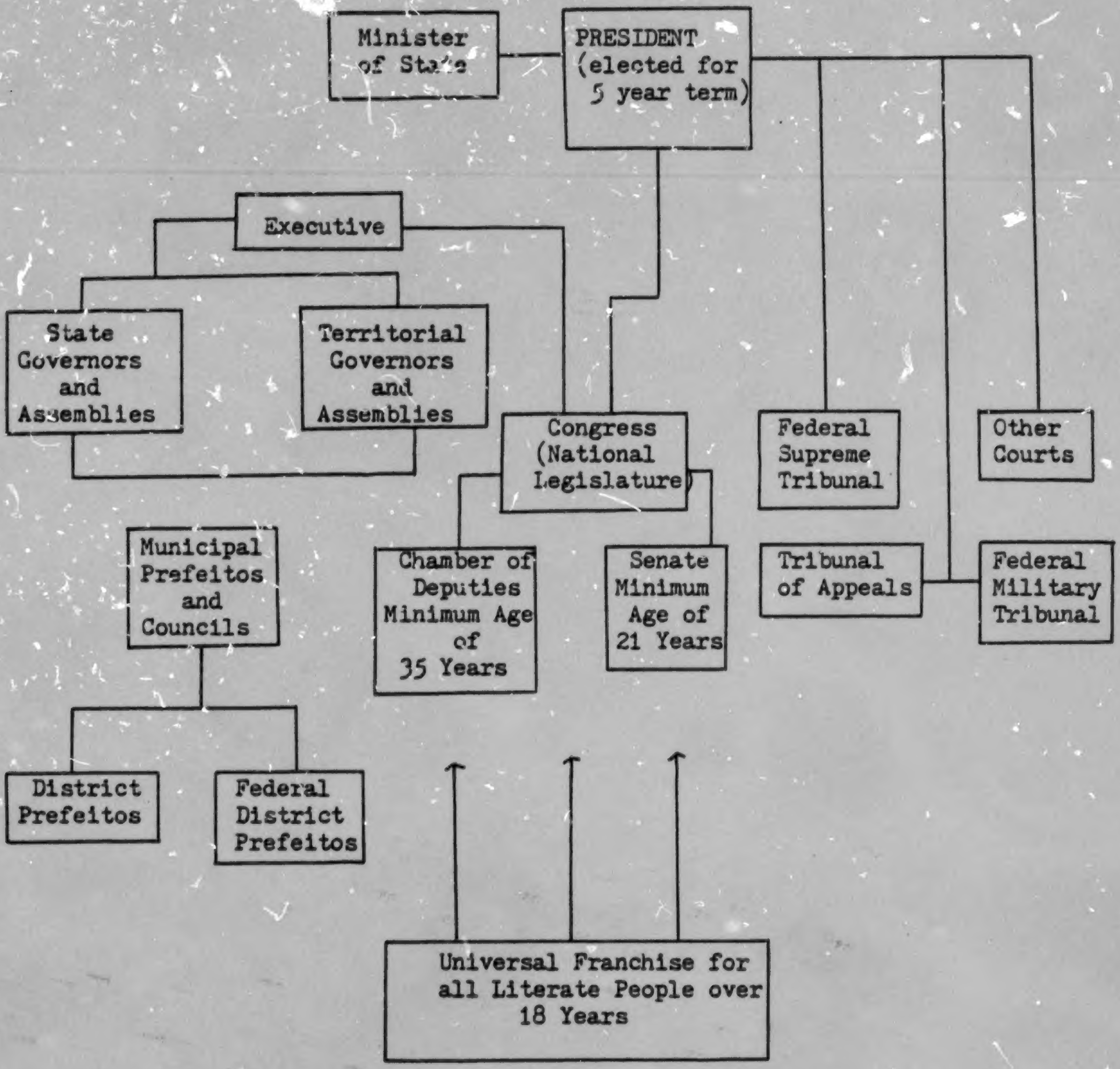
> Government and Administration Each state in Brazil has its own laws and the Federal Government has the right to intervene on specific matters. The state assemblies are elected by popular vote and the assemblies in turn elect the state governors. All the states and territories are subdivided into municipalities and districts. These all have their own prefeitos and councils...[2]

The National Congress comprises the Chamber of Deputies and Senate has legislative powers, subject to the approval of the Presidents. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage and contains representatives of all the state and territories. Each state elects three Senators who remain in office for eight years.

Until very recently the President's executive powers have increased at the expense of Congress. Since 1964, the President has been elected by indirect suffrage, being selected by members of Congress and representative of the States. He serves for

FIGURE I

The Brazilian System of Government


Minister of State
PRESIDENT (elected for 5 year term)
Executive
State Governors and Assemblies
Territorial Governors and Assemblies
Congress (National Legislature)
Federal Supreme Tribunal
Other Courts
Municipal Prefeitos and Councils
Chamber of Deputies Minimum Age of 35 Years
Senate Minimum Age of 21 Years
Tribunal of Appeals
Federal Military Tribunal
District Prefeitos
Federal District Prefeitos
Universal Franchise for all Literate People over 18 Years

Source: Ritchie Perry, Brazil - The Land and its People, (London: MacDonald Educational, 1977) four years and has wide powers, especially over finance and the economy. Since 1965, all Presidents have been chosen by the National Renewal Alliance Party (ARENA). The official opposition party is the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDS). (See attached chart of government system)

The following paragraph outlines the rights of the voter:

> Article 147, paragraph 3, sub-paragraph (a) of the National Constitution provides that illiterate persons cannot vote or be eligible for election. To be able to take part in elections, citizens, both male and female, must be 18 years of age or over and must possess a voter's card in order to obtain which they are in turn required to present a school certificate or demonstrate their ability to read and write. The test of such ability is not very trustworthy; the Electoral Code stipulates that, at the time of registration, the person concerned must write the date and sign his name, a requirement which in practise allows certain illiterate would-be voters to copy both items. Nowadays, those who present a certificate of literacy issued by MOBRAL (Brazilian Adult Literacy Movement) are entered on the electoral register without difficulty.[3]

Definition for an Indian in Brazil

> In Brazil the relevant laws and regulations currently use the term 'Indian' to designate the descendents of the aboriginal population which inhabited the present national territory during the period of discovery. This term reflects the ...ethnical, cultural, national, political and administrative and literary and artistic characteristics of these inhabitants of Brazil.[4]

Native Population

The Indian population has experienced a continued decline. In th mid-sixteenth century there were an estimated 3 or 4 million people, only 100,000 have survived. In 1900 there were 200 Indian nations in existence, 87 have been wiped out. Many are nearly extinct:

> Of 19,000 Munducus believed to have existed in the 30's, only 1,300 were left (in 1968). The strength of the Guranis had been reduced from 5,000 to 300. There were 400 Carajas left out of 4,000. Of the Cintas Largas who had been attacked by air and driven into the mountains, possibly 500 had survived out of 10,000. The proud and noble nation of the Kudiweus had shrunk to a pitiful scrounging band of about 200.[5]

In 1972, it was estimated that the Cacaas Novas who in 1950 numbered 30,000 had been reduced to 400.[6] The Xerentes were limited to 320.[7] There were only 60 members of the Juruna.[8] Today many tribes are represented by a single family or several individuals. A Brazilian social historian has predicted that by 1980 not a single Indian will be alive.

General History

Although no one knows for sure who the first European to set foot in Brazil, the country's discovery dates from 22 April, 1500 when Pedro Alvares Cabral claimed the land for Portugal. The story has it, he was on his way to India, in order to avoid the calms off Africa when Cabral sailed far to the west. His landfall on the coast of Bahia was an accident. Cabral himself never returned to Brazil after having claimed it so he never knew how important his discovery was destined to be.

The First Settlers

Pedro Alvares Cabral originally named his discovery Terra de Vera Cruz - The Land of the True Cross. However within a few years it had changed to Brazil, a reference to a pau-brasil, a red dyewood which was much prized in Europe.

Unlike Mexico, no precious metals were discovered in the beginning and consequently development was slow. Nonetheless settlements were not long in coming to Brazil at Sao Vincente and Olinda. The whole coast was delineated at 240 kilometer intervals to create the captaincies, hereditary land grants which became the administration units.

The bulk of the early newcomers settled in the north-east. There huge plantations developed to cater for the Europeans' new found taste for sugar. The local Indians were found to be poor and unwilling workers, therefore slaves from West Africa were being brought over by the mid-sixteenth century.[9]

The indigenous population of Brazil was never a dense one. The pre-European population has been estimated conservatively at one to one and a half million people, while larger figures have stated 3 to 4 million. These Brazilian Indians were divided into literally hundreds of tribes speaking numerous aboriginal languages, moreover they also differed greatly in their customs and in their level of economic development. The Indians could be divided into 2 fundamental ways of life: that of the Tropical Forest peoples, who were essentially horticulturists and fishermen in the rain forests, and that of the Marginal or Semi-marginal peoples, who were hunters and food gatherers. The latter also had some horticulture in the open plains country and on the semi-arid plateaus. It was this diveristy among the Brazilian Indians which was a major factor in their inability to resist the small groups of Europeans who came to Brazil after 1500.[19]

The Tupi Indians who lived on the coast had either died of disease, fled into the interior, settled in mission villages by the Jesuit missionaries, or merged with Europeans within 150 years of the discovery of Brazil.

As with other contacts between Europeans and aboriginal groups in the New World, the effect on the original inhabitants was disastrous. Old World diseases, including measles, smallpox, and respiratory infections appear to have been the principle devasting agents on aboriginal people who lacked specific immunity against them. A later example of this effect was the Tapirate of Central Brazil, who first entered into relations with Brazilians in 1914. Around 1900 the Tapirape numbered approximately 1,000 people; by 1939 they were only 147, and by 1947, only slightly more than 50 of them were left. Smallpox was transmitted to them via the neighboring tribe, the Caraja, even prior to contact with European Brazilians. Since their initial contact with Brazilians, epidemics were common occurrences among the coastal tribes. It is recorded that in 1562 and in 1563 smallpox epidemics occurred in the region and the second from one fourth to three fifths of the remainder. The epidemics so disorganized the primitive groups that gardens were neglected and hunger followed.[11]

The slow extinction of Indian tribes in Brazil through epidemics, integration and murder continues today. It is shocking to think that the example of this process cited below took place less than twenty years ago.

A Case of Genocide

For nearly a century, the Indian tribes of Aripuana had sucessfully resisted rubber collectors and diamond prospectors who periodically tried to invade their lands. However, in the early 1960's certain large Brazilian real estate companies became interested in the lands of the region. One of the companies was the Brazilian rubber extraction firm of Arruda and Junqueira, which had a number of outposts in the Brazilian Territory of Rondonia.

As a result a man named Francisco de Brito, who worked for the Arruda and Junqueira firm, organized a band of prospectors (garimperos) and gunslingers (pistoleiros) in 1963 to force the Cintas Largas off their lands. According to reports, de Brito hired a plane to attack one of the Cintas Largas villages from the air. At the time of the attack, the Cintas Largas were performing an important tribal ceremony. At midday, the plane carrying de Brito and his henchmen flew over the village and packets of sugar were dropped on the Indians below. Then, the plane swept down and proceeded to dynamite the Indian village. The number of Indians who were killed in the attack is unknown. It is now known as the "Massacre at Paralle Eleven".

Some of the Indians did escape, so another expedition was organized to annihilate the tribe.[12]

Society for the Protection of Indians (SPI)

In light of such incidents as the massacre at Parallel Eleven, the Indian Protection Service was formed. The Indian Protection Service was not an agency designated to administrate Indian affairs, but rather an institution whose purpose was to protect Indians against acts of frontier persecution and oppression.

The Brazilian government had an obligation to protect Indians against the destructive effects of frontier expansion and to defend their lives, liberty and property against extermination and exploitation.

The legislation was intended to recognize the rights of Indian peoples to live on their own lands and to maintain under the guardianship of the government, their ancient and traditional ways of life.[13]

The Society for the Protection of Indians was disbanded after 134 of its agents were charged with over a thousand offences ranging from murder to the theft of land from the Indian people.

To replace the SPI, FUNAI was established in 1967 and will be discussed shortly. A product of FUNAI was GRIN which is described below by Robin Hanbury.

Robin Hanbury describes the policy:

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> ...There were nine of them, in uniform, under the command of a very smooth-looking Indian corporal in dark glasses who called them to attention as we approached. The Guarda Rural Indigena, GRIN for short, were created in 1969 with the aim of 'maintaining order in the Indian communities, defending their territorial integrity and defending the fauna and flora'. To this end, eighty-four Indian youths from Karaja, Xerente and Kraho tribes had been taken to Belo Horizonte and given certain training as well as 'moral and civil instruction'. They were then returned to their own tribes as a native police force. Paid a small government salary, which in some cases represented the only outside income of a tribe, their position seemed difficult and anomalous and it was hard to see what function they performed. Originally they had been armed but now their holsters were empty. Their job was to maintain law and order but it seemed unlikely that the non-Indian population on Bananai would pay much attention to them and inside the tribe more authority was vested in the tribal chiefs. The sixteen GRIN were the only police on the island of Bananal and, in theory at least, if two white farmers should have a fight and one should kill the other and in a community where everybody carries guns this must happen from time to time - it would be the duty of one of these unarmed Indian boys to arrest the survivor. An alarming prospect![14]

The importance of GRIN, FUNAI, even the SPI is the protection of the land rights of the Indians. Claudis Villas Boas puts the issue into perspective.

> ...the most important aspect was not the collection of highsounding sentiments about giving the Indian his full rights as a citizen of Brazil, but how the Indians' land rights would be affected. Giving the Indian his full rights as a Brazilian citizen was not going to improve his lot. The right to elect representatives to Parliament, even if they could in time be taught to appreciate and make use of this right, was not going to be of any great value to the Indians because they comprised such a tiny minority of the Brazilian people and their voice would never be heard. What was much more important was to understand the particular situation of the Indians, isolated in small groups in the middle of a country of whose very existence and name they

> are not aware, and the possessors of nominal rights which they do not understand. It was not the laws pertaining to the Indians which needed changing, but the attitudes of the surrounding population. This would take time.[15]

FUNAI (Fundacao Nacional do Indio) (Brazilian National Indian Foundation)

The first article of the statute establishing FUNAI, included the following provisions:

1) respect for tribal institutions and communities;

2) guarantee of the permanent possession of lands that Indians inhabit, and the exclusive use of natural resources therein, according to the Brazilian Constitution;

3) preservation of the biological and cultural equilibrium of Indian communities in contact with national society

4) defense of the spontaneous acculturation of Indian communities, rather than their rapid and enforced acculturation.[16]

The task of 'integration' was assigned to FUNAI, the state agency in charge of Native affairs. It was theoretically intended to protect native rights. For the first few years of its operations, it appeared to at least to give verbal recognition to the needs of native peoples -- the need to protect tribal land from encroachment, better health care, protection from assault, and some technical assistance and training to allow them to participate, to the extent they desire, in the economic activity of their region. It also took some positive steps to create a buffer between native people and national 'development'.

However, in 1970 FUNAI policies altered. Massive contracts for mineral exploration and land development for the exploration of the Brazilian interior were being prepared and consequently a new tough line was adopted on the issue of Indian rights. General Oscar Bandeiro de Mello was appointed to the position of director of FUNAI which signalled the change. He was a conservative, who had come from the position of military Chief of Intelligence and Interrogation. His attitude could be summed up in his statement, "I am tired of this strange love affair with Indians."[17]

FUNAI today, like Indian agencies elsewhere, plays a contradictory role. On one hand it is supposed to protect native people until such time as they are integrated into the national fabric, at the same time it is an agency of the Ministry of the Interior which is involved in the promotion of Amazon 'development' -- the process which is destroying the Indians.

Furthermore the emphasis is placed on the latter. Protection of Indians and their lands means protection of others from Indians. Thus promoting Amazon 'development' is defined as the removal of Indians from their lands to make way for corporations. FUNAI has become the clearing agent for construction teams, settlers and large transnational companies. [18]

To this end, FUNAI has used a number of approaches to free native lands for commercialization. Laws have been passed which permit the government the right to take lands which are 'occupied'. 'Grimpeiros' have been hired to drive the Indian people from their lands and settlers have been allowed or sent in to colonize or squat on the land.

The agency tried to put native people on eighteen reserves and four parks, arguing that these will provide some protection. Some native people have moved to them. Others have decided to fight for their traditional areas. Generally the experiences on the reserves have been negative. In some cases, the reserves were not suitable for traditional pursuits and hence to find means of support became impossible. For those involved in hunting and fishing traditional practices have been upset by the construction projects and the damming of rivers for the new 'development' which have altered the patterns of animals and fish. Some reserves have not been large enough to support the whole tribe; the Yanomani nation of 10,000 was given a reserve in which only 300 could survive.[19]

Most importantly, reserve land was not secure against further intrusion. The Trans-Amazon Highway recently constructed by the government criss-crosses all four parks and seventeen reserves. The native neither own the lands or have subsoil rights. They have no say in how the land will be used. Since the passage or the Brazilian Indian Statute in December 1973, FUNAI has had the legal right to lease Indian reserves to large mineral extraction companies as long as it is in the 'national interest'. By definition of 'national interest' the government has no limitations.

The statements below do not augur well for the Indian people on or off the reserves.

The following statements were made by prominent government officials about the Indians of Brazil.

FUNAI Turns Against Brazilian Native People

By 1970, however, an important redirection in the actions and philosophy of FUNAI had taken place. In June of that year, a former military intelligence officer, General Oscar Jeronimo Bandeira de Mello was appointed President of FUNAI. The "protection" of Indian tribes would thereafter be limited by the economic development plans for the Amazon. These plans were entitled the National Integration Plan and officially adopted by the military junta in 1970.[20]

As General Ernesto Giesel succeeded General Garrastazu Medici as head of State, new and serious threats loomed over the indigenous racial minorities in Brazil. In his first public statement, the new Minister of the Interior, Mauricio Rangel Reis, declared:

> 'This is a firm promise: we shall implement a policy of integration of the indigenous population into Brazilian society as soon as possible.' He added: 'FUNAI -- the National Indian Function -- was one of the main topics in my conversations with the president. We think that the ideals of preserving the indigenous population within its natural 'habitat' are very nice ideals, but unrealistic.[21]

In March 1975, the governor of Roraima, General Fernando Ramo Pereira, expressed his views on this question before the Brazilian press, "I am of the opinion," he said, "that an area as rich as this - with gold, diamonds, uranium -- cannot afford the luxury of conserving a half a dozen Indian tribes who are holding back the development of Brazil."[22]

Integration

What is the present situation? About half the Indians in Brazil are already well down the road towards integration. They suffer constant discrimination. Their lands have been taken from them and without special concentrated help the future holds little promise for most of them. They need medical help superior to that received by the surrounding population, because they still have little resistance to Western diseases. They need educational help, in order to understand the position in which they now exist and to learn to stand up to oppression. They also need technological help in order to be able to compete on equal terms with those who regard them as inferior. If these requirements are provided, there is a possibility that some of their inherited and handed-down skills may be preserved and adapted so as to make them better able to cope.

The other half, those who are not yet much affected by the acculturation process are in a very different position. Some are still isolated in the jungle while others have had a limited amount of contact and have obtained certain modern tools which they have learned to use, however these have not yet destroyed their own culture which is still viable and intact. It may be a long while, perhaps generations before they are able to be a part of a technological world. In fact, it may well be that, in time, the modern world will learn to respect aspects of their lives and will not be so anxious to change them into the sometimes questionable values of the technological world.[23]

Education under the Colonial System

The pattern of educational development in Brazil was determined by the social and economic structures in the colonies combined with a strong link with European culture.

The Jesuits also had a heavy influence in the humanist thrust in education. They arrived in Brazil in 1549 along with the first Portuguese colonizers. The Jesuits were initially concerned with Christianizing and providing literacy training to the Indian children. In time they also offered a classical course of study to the upper class and theological courses to prepare clergymen in the colonies. Jesuit instruction could be described as dogmatic, authoritarian, and abstract.

For 200 years Jesuit influence was unchallenged. Then in 1759 the Portuguese Prime Minister Pombal expelled them in an attempt to reform the administrative system of Portugal. The Jesuits were replaced by lay teachers. They increased educational opportunities, centralized administration, and expanded the curriculum to include such subjects as physics, geometry and design. At the same time, classes known as aulas regias (regal courses) were developed under the Portuguese crown to prepare public administrators and military officers.

Empire Period

In 1812, the colonial period came to an end when Dom Pedro I declared Brazil independent from Portugal. The Constitution of 1824 guaranteed universal education as a civil right, but a system of free public education did not immediately develop because of a lack of physical and human resources and public disinterest.

The government demonstrated concern about education during the Empire, primarily by enacting legislation. One of the most important educational laws was the Additional Act of 1834. Primary and secondary education were decentralized, both organizationally and administratively, and responsibility now rested with the provinces.

There was considerable educational advancement during the Empire period. The first normal school and official secondary school (Colegio Pedro II) were established; primary schools increased and several agricultural and vocational-technical schools were created.

From the days of the Empire period through much of the twentieth century, the influence of the upper classes disseminated by their control of the professions, medicine and especially law. The law schools provided training grounds for the elite, and a judicial mentality came to dominate Brazilian social and political institutions.

Republican Period

A coalition of civilians and the military were able to depose the Emperor in 1889 and establish a republic. From 1920 onwards modernization increased rapidly; industrialization, urbanization, and the beginnings of a small middle class were the essential difference with the past.

The Constitution of 1891 included the question of education in Brazil. It had responsibility divided between the states and the federal government. There would be a system of primary, secondary and high education controlled by the states while the federal government would have its own system of secondary and high education.

Primary education in Brazil had two strong influences. One was the U.S. system of elementary education which the state of Sao Paulo adopted. The other influence which was popular in other states was the European, especially French, system of education.

Although the systems were different, in one respect they were the same, public education was an urban phenomenon; the quality of education in rural areas was essentially poor.

Educational progress was made during the early Republican period, but this progress was unable to meet the educational needs of Brazilian economic development and provide social equality for the masses.

Vargas Era

Getulia Vargas was able to seize power because of the social and political discontent. Discontent compounded by increasing economic disparity between the cities and the countryside led to the 1930 Revolution.

In the early years of the Vargas period, public education grew in importance. Francisco Campos was elected Minister of Education and Health, a new ministry in 1930. Campos believed in the Escola Nova (New School) which saw the school as a means for democratic change. One of Campos's major accomplishments was his 1931 law which altered secondary education by creating two cycles of schooling; one, a five year basic instructional cycle and the other, a two year preparatory course for professional study. It was intended to add a formative component to the college preparatory curriculum of secondary education. Because of the educational provisions of the 1934 Constitution, in which federal government authority was further centralized, the minister was able to implement his administrative policies.

Postwar Democratic Period

With the end of World War II, a democratic republic was re-established in 1946. Vargas was overthrown and his Minister of War, Enrico Dutra, was elected president.

The Education Minister, Clemente Mariani, created a commission in 1947 to develop a national education plan which would recommend an education capable of meeting the needs of social and economic development. Minister Mariani hoped to have a long term and comprehensive educational plan which would complement other government efforts to modernize and decentralize social service. In 1948 a major education bill was submitted to Congress; however, it took thirteen years before becoming law. Liberals and conservatives, private school and public school proponents, advocates of centralization and believers in decentralization heatedly debated the contents of the bill. The effects of these debates were many compromises and revisions on the Law of Directives and Basis of National Education, known as the LDB. As a consequence, the law was often ambiguous and/or contradictory and its implementation was unsurprisingly only partially successful.

In essence the LDB once again decentralized education by recreating a dual system: federal and state. Administration was decentralized at the local level, however, state and private schools remained under the concern of the federal government. The LDB concentrated on primary and secondary education and little attention was paid to higher education. Thus the educational system was modified but not radically changed[24]

The Brazilian Educational System

The Constitutional excerpt and the figures in the next five pages illustrate how the present educational system functions. The first table outlines the various stages or schools a Brazilian child must go through in order to obtain complete education.

The second figure with its accompanying legend reflects the government's administrative support system for the schools listed in Figure I.

TITLE IV

CONSTITUTION*

The Family, Education, and Culture

Art. 168 Education is the right of everyone and shall be given at home and in school. With assurance of equality of opportunity, it should be inspired in the principle of national unity and in the ideals of freedom and human solidarity.

Paragraph 1 Education at the various levels shall be administered by the public powers.

Paragraph 2 Provided the pertinent legal provisions are respected, education shall be open to private initiative, which shall be entitled to technical and financial support from the public powers,including scholarships.

Paragraph 3 Legislation on education shall adopt the following principles and standards:

I Elementary education shall be given only in the national language.

II Education of children from seven to fourteen years of age is compulsory for all and free in the official elementary institutions.

III Education subsequent to elementary shall likewise be free to all those who, while showing effective achievement, can show a lacK of insufficiency of means. Whenever possible, the public power shall replace the system of free education by that of granting scholarships, requiring later reimbursement in the case of high education.

IV Religious instruction, matriculation in which shall be optional, shall be part of the normal schedules of the official elementary and secondary schools.

V The filling of initial and final positions in teaching careers at the secondary and high levels shall always be done on the basis of a test of qualification, consisting of a public competitive examination and presentation of diplomas, in the case of official education.

VI Freedom of teaching is guaranteed.

Art. 169 The states and the Federal District shall organize their own educational systems and the union shall organize those of the territories as well as the federal system which shall be supplementary in character and shall extend throughout the country, within the strict limits of local deficiencies.

Paragraph 1 The Union shall provide technical and financial assistance for the development of the educational systems of the states and of the Federal District.

Paragraph 2 Each system of education shall obligatorily include services of educational assistance to ensure conditions of scholastic efficiency to needy students.

Art. 170 Commercial, industrial, and agricultural enterprises are obligated to maintain, in such form as the law shall establish, free elementary education for their employees and their employees' children.

Sole Paragraph Commercial, industrial and agricultural enterprises are also obligated to provide, in co-operation, apprenticeships for minors in their employ.

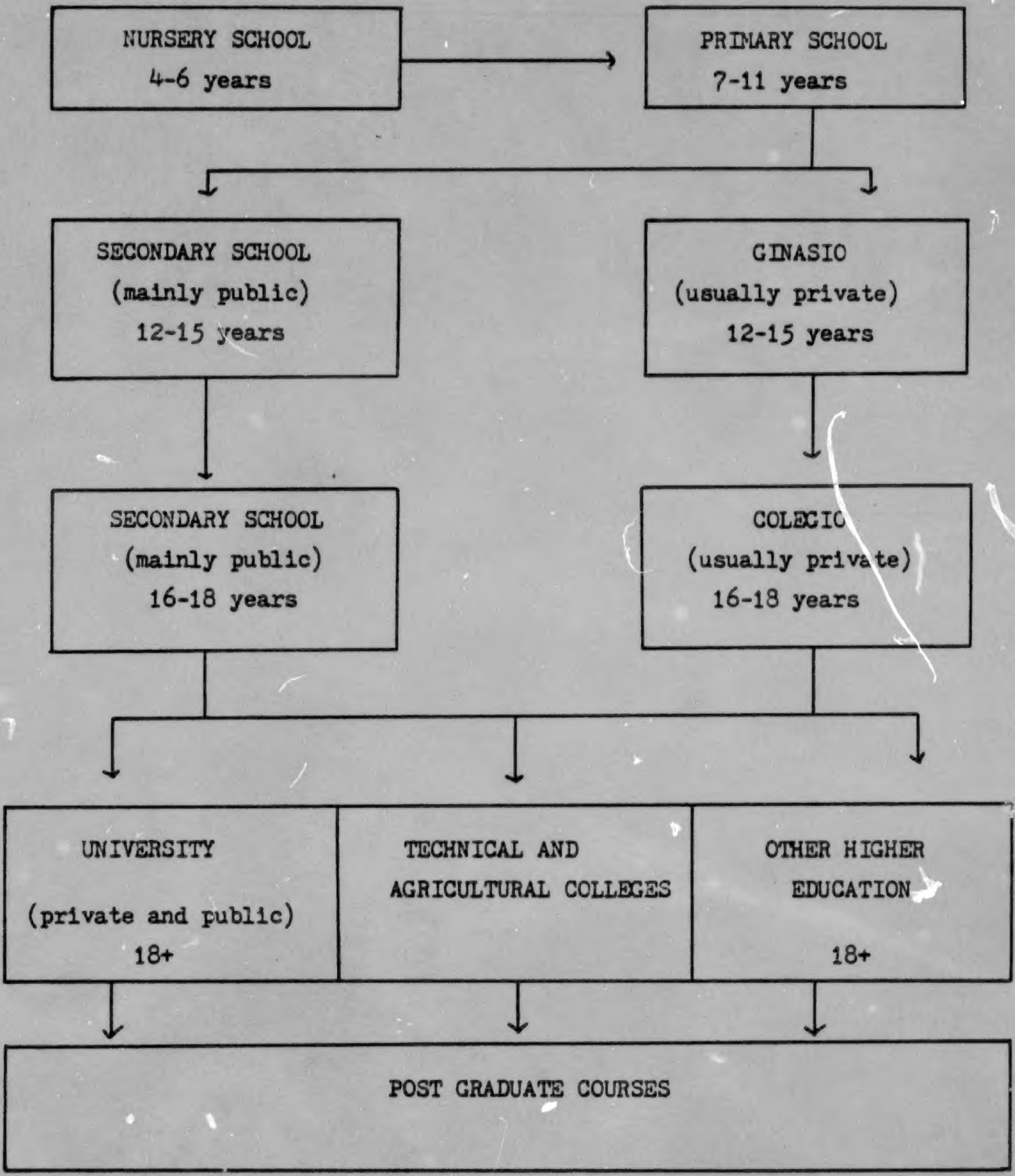
Art. 171 The sciences, letters and arts shall be free

Sole Paragraph The public power shall encourage scientific and technological research.

*D. Peaslee-Xydis, Constitution of Nations, (The Hague: M. Nighoff, 1969)

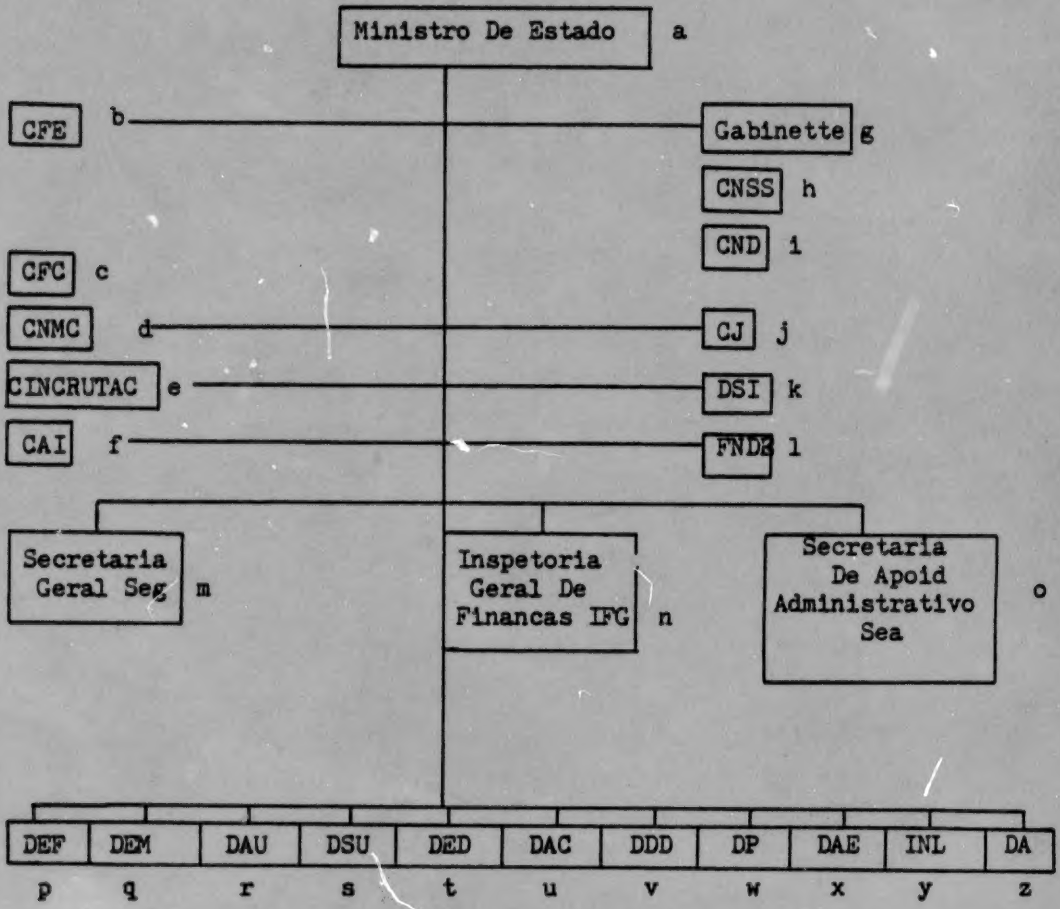
FIGURE I

Brazilian School System


NURSERY SCHOOL
4-6 years
PRIMARY SCHOOL
7-11 years
SECONDARY SCHOOL
(mainly public)
12-15 years
GINASIO
(usually private)
12-15 years
SECONDARY SCHOOL
(mainly public)
16-18 years
COLEGIO
(usually private)
16-18 years
UNIVERSITY
(private and public)
18+
TECHNICAL AND
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES
OTHER HIGHER
EDUCATION
18+
POST GRADUATE COURSES

Source: F. Haussman & J. Haar, Education in Brazil, (Hamden; Archan Books, 1978)

Basic Organizational Structure of The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC)


Ministro De Estado a
CFE b
Gabinette g
CNSS h
CND i
CFC c
CNMC d
CJ j
CINCRUTAC e
DSI k
CAI f
FNDE l
Secretaria Geral Seg m
Inspetoria Geral De Financas IFG n
Secretaria De Apoid Administrativo Sea o
DEF p
DEM q
DAU r
DSU s
DED t
DAC u
DDD v
DP w
DAE x
INL y
DA z

Legend

a - Minister of State
b - Federal Education Council
c - Federal Cultural Council
d - National Commission on Morals and citizenship
e - Commission for the Promotion of Rural University Centers for Training and Community Action
f - Commission on International Affairs
g - Cabinet
h - National Council on Social Service
i - National Council on Sports
j - Judicial Advisory Board
k - Division of Security and Information
l - National Fund for Educational Development
m - General Secretariat
n - General Office of Finance (Office of the Inspector General)
o - Secretariat of Administrative Assistance
p - Department of Elementary Education
q - Department of Middle Level Education
r - Department of University Affairs
s - Department of Supplemental Instruction
t - Department of Sports and Physical Education
u - Department of Cultural Affairs
v - Department of Documentation and Dissemination
w - Department of Personnel
x - Department of Student Assistance
y - National Book Institute
z - Department of Administration

Source: F. Haussman J. Hoar, Education in Brazil, (Hamden: A chan books, 1978)

TABLE I

Fundamental Education Legislation of Brazil

Law No.	Date	Purpose
4,024	Dec. 21,1961	Defines principles of national education and general norms of organization. (However, sections pertaining to first level, second level and higher education have been superceded entirely.
5,540	Nov. 28,1968	Specifies norms for the structure and function of post secondary education.
464	Feb. 11,1969	Complements Law No. 5,540
5,692	Aug. 11,1971	Establishes directives and basis of first level and second level education.

Source: F. Haussman and J. Hoar, Education in Brazil, (Hamden: Archan Books,1978)

The Federal Government and Primary Education

The Ministry of Education of the Federal Government supports through collaboration and assistance the states and municipios in primary education. The main agency involved is the Institute of Pedagogic Studies (INEP) which administers the National Fund for Primary Education.

The Institute has become preoccupied with three roles in administrating the fund:

1) it assists the states and municipios in the construction of additional primary school buildings;

2) it aids the states in the construction of teacher-training schools for training the faculty members of such schools as well as training elementary school principals and counsellors;

3) it aids the states in building, equipment, and maintaining 'complementary' primary schools which are designed to ensure at least six years of primary education in the cities.[25]

Responsibility of States and Municipios for Primary Education

There are three types of primary schools - state administered, municipio administered and private schools which are the responsibility of the state. Although each type has a certain level of local control, the state remains the primary focus for organization and administration. To further complicate matters, the states themselves differ in their forms of administration, some having a central administration operating from the state capital, and others having a decentralized administrative system.

At present each state Department of Education tries to achieve the constitutional requirement of free, compulsory education at the primary level by maintaining a four year primary school and attempting to have all children between the ages of 7 and 11 in school for at least four years. The degree of success has varied, depending on the wealth of the state and the distribution of its population.[26]

Interior Schools

The Brazilian Federal School Service supports several schools in the interior, of which about fifty are in predominantly Indian villages. All are among acculturated Indians, living in or near settled agricultural communities. The facilities are general extremely primitive and often the teaching is done by the most advanced pupil between the infrequent visits of the master. Robin Hanbury-Tension states:

> ..a young school teacher who had done some work in this direction, largely in his own time and at his own expense. He was anxious to expand th whole service and badly needed funds to do so, but these never seemed to reach the territory. A top-heavy bureaucracy tended to prevent anything ever coming through to this remote and unfavoured part of Brazil. He told me a story about a time when he had been working at an Indian village and a man from the then SPI had come to ask what he neede to further his work. He prepared a long list of clothes, machettes,knives, medicines, books, a cartridge-maker and so on. The man had taken a lot of photographs and promised that everything would be arriving shortly. Three months later six small knives arrived and he said that this was one of the few occasions when he had known anything to filter through.[27]

Rural Schools

If there is a school for the children, it is usually one room in which pupils of all ages and grades are taught by a single teacher. The rural schools are usually run by the municipio, which means that they are ill-equipped, with inferior teachers who are poorly paid. Most of the pupils come from very poor homes, their parents are illiterate, and they receive little educational incentive from their homes.

There are exceptions to these general statements. In some areas of relatively prosperous single-family farms, generally in the southern states, the parents are comparatively well-educated and the rural schools are fairly good. Occasionally the wife or daughter of a plantation owner teaches in the school. Moreover there are always a few children in every school who learn quickly and well, even with poor teaching.

Secondary schools are almost nonexistent in the rural areas. A rural child may have to travel as far as fifty miles to get to the nearest secondary school. Although a few children live close to those towns where schools are located, as a rule the only rural children who go to secondary school are those who can live with relatives in town or those whose parents can afford to transport them every day to the town. There are no systems of free transportation to the schools for rural youth.[28]

Post-Secondary Education

There are 57 universities of which 37 are publically-owned and the fees are nominal. However 86.1% of all post secondary institutions are located in the most developed regions of Brazil

Universities are only acceptable as such if they conform to certain requirements - they must have 3 or more establishments of higher education which must include certain specific faculties including one of Law, Engineering or Medicine; they must be approved by the National Council on Education.
Needless to say the role universities and other post-secondary institutions have to play in the educational advancement of the indigenous population is still relatively small even though annual increase in matriculations for the total population is 19%. Nonetheless in conjunction with the federal government's desire to develop the Amazon, certain universities have undertaken Amazonian studies. The studies are intended to train people to solve the socio-economic and technical problems of the Amazon. One such university, the Federal University of Para of Mato Grosso in Cuiaba lays its emphasis on health and community programs for the indigenous population. It may be a small start but at least its a beginning.[29]

Radio and Television Education

Since October 1970, all Brazilian commercial radio and television stations are required to broadcast, free of charge, at least one hour of educational programs each day. Most states in addition, operate their own educational radio stations or TV Cultura channels and sometimes both. These usually operate for a few hours a day and serve a variety of purposes: to broadcast educational programs, as well as special cultural, musical and sports programs and courses of community interest, produced by the Ministry of Education and Culture, or by other states (usually Sao Paulo or Rio).

Until 1976, the MEC produced and sponsored programs and operated its own two radio stations and one educational television station. When Radiobras, the federal mass communications agency under the Ministry of Communications was formed, the MEC lost its stations but remained as the producer of educational-cultural programs through its Servico de Radiodifusao Educativa in Brasilia, and the first of its television production centers, the Fundacao Centro Brazileiro de TV Educativa (FCBTVE) in Rio. The MEC is theoretically supposed to come up with a national 'policy' and to 'co-ordinate' the vast array of educational radio and television programs all over Brazil. However, many experts feel that the system is at present not equalling electronic communication.[30]

Industrial Training Programs

Besides the radio and television programs, there are also an estimated five million Brazilians who take part in non-formal education programs. Designed to reduce, if not eliminate, mass illiteracy among the adult population, they are structurally flexible and constitute an educational subsystem. Included in this subsystem are a variety of industrial training programs created by both government and private interests. One such program SENAI or the National Industrial Training Service has training nearly four million workers, three-quarters of them since 1968. However, the three major training programs, SENAI, SENAC and PIPMO suffer from an urban orientation, even though 44% of Brazil's workers live in rural areas. Obviously this same problem affects the native population, most of whom still live in rural areas.[31]

Analysis of Statistical Data Between Brazil and Canada

Total Expenditure on Education

Brazil's total expenditure on education for 1970 was 5,549,022,000 cruzeiros and in 1977 Brazil spent 73,035,853,000 cruzeiros.[32] An increase of 67,486,831,000 cruzeiros for a seven year period. No figures are made available for current and capital expenditures. The total expenditure on education as a percentage of the gross national product was 3.2%

Compared with Canada's total expenditure on education for 1970 which was 7,244,700,000 dollars and for 1977 Canada spent 16,721,589,000 dollars. An increase of 9,476,889,000 dollars for a seven year period. Canada spent 14,994,978,000 dollars on current expenditure. As a percentage of the total expenditure it was 89.7%. The amount spent on capital expenditure was 1,726,611,000 dollars. The total expenditure on education as a percentage of the Gross National Product was 8%.

We can assume by looking at the figures for both countries that Canada spent more on education than does Brazil. The differences in population for each country are: Brazil's population for 1977 was 112,239,000 persons and for the same year, Canada's population was 23,280,000 persons.

Enrollment Ratios

In 1976, Brazil had an 88% enrollment ratio for first level education. No figures are available for enrollment ratios for second level. The enrollment ratio for third level was 12.62% based on the total population. We can assume that the enrollment ratio for Indian students is far below the national levels.

Canada had 100% enrollment ratio for first level education for 1976. The second level enrollment ratio was 91% and 38.65% for the third level.

First level for Brazil includes ages 7-10, the second level 11-17, and the third level 20-24 years of age. Compared with Canada, where the first level is 6-11, the second level, 12-17 and the third level which is 20-24 years of age.

The total school enrollment for Indian students in Canada was approximately 71,000 for 1976 and the retention rate was approximately 20% remining between Grades 2 and 12. The national retention rate of student's remaining was approximately 75% between grades 2 and 12.

There are no comparable figures for Brazil's Indian population but referring back to the sections entitled 'Interior Schools' and 'Rural Schools' the quality of education is of a very poor standard, undoubtedly being a cause of many Indian students leaving the education system.

Pupil/Teacher Ratio

In 1975, there were 188,260 schools in Brazil. The total teaching staff was 869,652 with a total student population of 19,549,249. The pupil/teacher ratio was 22 pupils for one teacher.

Canada has no figure available for the number of schools for

1975. There was a total teaching staff of 256,200 with a total student population of 2,440,016. The pupil/Teacher ratio was 20 pupils for one teacher.

In the rural areas of Brazil we can assume that the pupil/teacher ratio would be higher than the national average and could go as high as 40 pupils for one teacher. Refer back to the section entitled 'Rural Schools' which states,"...If there is a school for their children, it is usually one room in which pupils of all ages and grades are taught by a single teacher."

Entrance Age

Brazil's entrance age for first level is 7-14 years of age. Second level entrance age is 15-17 years of age. No figures are available for third level. Brazil's compulsory education age limits are 7-14 years of age.

Canada's entrance age for first level is 6-11 years of age. Second level entrance is 12-14. Third level entrance age is 15-17 years of age. Canada's compulsory education limits is 6-15 years of age.

Teacher/Pupil Ratio at Second Level

The following statistics may surprise the reader but they have been double checked.

Brazil had 308,522 teacher in 1970 and 156,174 teachers in 1974. The student population for 1970 was 4,086,073 pupils and 1,681,728 pupils for 1974.

Canada had 97,000 teachers in 1970 but no figure is available for 1974. The student population for 1970 was 1,636,913 and or

1974 it was 2,596,732.

No assumptions or comparison can be made from these figures because the UNESCO figures for Brazil show a sharp decrease of teachers and students.

Number of Students Per 100,000 Inhabitants Entering Third Level

The number of students per 100,000 inhabitants entering third level education for Brazil in 1977 was 1,329. The number of males and females entering third level education remains constant at 1,329 students per 100,000 inhabitants.

The number of students per 100,00 inhabitants entering third level education for Canada in 1977 was 3,548. The number of males per 100,000 entering third level education was 3,868 and the number of females was 3,411.

The likelihood of many Indian students attending university is small, based on our earlier readings.

Illiteracy in Brazil

To define an illiterate person is difficult anywhere in the world because of the relative scope of this term. In many countries, if an individual is able to read and write a simple passage it is proof of a person's literacy. In the developed world, studies have shown that many people who, for census purposes are counted as literate have not in fact been able to make use of their reading skills. This phenomenon is undoubtedly much more serious in the developing countries, where census-taking operations have their shortcomings and where it is in practice impossible to apply any kind of test in order to check the truth of the information collected. It is therefore assumed that illiteracy is generally underestimated in all attempts to quantify it accurately.

Brazil has carried out population census7 regularly every ten years, and for the literacy items, has defined literate as those persons who are able to read and write a short letter (bilhete) in a given language, those who are able to only sign their name being considered as illiterate.[33]

According to UNESCO in 1976 for those 10 years and older 22% of the total population were illiterate. In rural areas, it was nearly double at 39.4%. It would not be a wild assumption to say that the rate of illiteracy for the Indian people as defined by the Brazilian government is considerably higher than the illiteracy rate of the general rural population.

Conclusions

What of the future for the indigenous peoples of Brazil? What of their prospects of education?

Earlier, it has been stated how European diseases had decimated the Indian population. In a recent article in the Globe and Mail,[34] Survival International U.S.A. asserts this process is continuing among the Yanomami in northern Brazil. The diseases of measles and whooping cough are caused by miners working illegally on Indian land. Apparently five distinct Yanomami populations had been affected and at least 21 Indian people have died.

The government has done little to stop the miners or garimpeiros who have been invading Indian land since 1975. After the disease among the Indian tribe had been reported in the press, the government organized medical teams but authorized only 3 hours of air force flight time.

In the meantime,

> Those exposed to them (the disease) can fall ill at once, and few are left healthy enough to do the daily task necessary for survival - hunting and gathering food, collecting wood, cooking, hauling water and nursing the sick. Weakened by th disease the victim often succumbs to pneumonia or starvation.[35]

Clearly, either tacitly or overtly, the problem of the Indian people in the Amazon is one the Brazilian government would prefer to ignore in its all-out attempts to develop the region. Yet without government assistance, the odds against the indigenous people, including the Yanomami may become insuperable.

Education Future

> Education, rooted in the principle of unity and in the ideals of freedom and th brotherhood of men, is the right of everyone and the provision of education is a duty of the State, and it shall be provided in the home and in school. - Article 176 of the present Brazilian Constitution.
>
> Primary education shall be compulsory for all persons between the ages of seven and fourteen years, and shall be provided free of charge in official establishments. - Paragraph 3, Article 176[36]

According to Mr. Durmuval Mendes, the present Constitution, from which the above articles and paragraphs are taken is more restrictive than an earlier constitution, that of 1946. The present Consitituion allows for free primary education whereas the earlier one allowed for free education at all levels for those in need. A classification that would undoubtedly apply to the vast majority of the Indian people.[37]

Thus the prospects for higher education are more restrictive than they were in the past. The Indian people of Brazil face an aggressive and expansionary culture fully supported by the government which is attempting to undermine the few Indian land enclaves and cultures, an educational system that is grossly inferior in the rural areas; a labour force definition which allows for children ten years old and up to work, and a government which vacillates on its own position toward Indian education as the final article on Brazil illustrates.[38] Yet the last article also gives hope for the future as Indian students establish a political entity, like their Canadian brothers, since the arrival of the European they have faced adversity, but both groups have survived and though their future is far from bright, it is at least glowing.

This glow is a result of Indian actions themselves. For example Mario Juruna, Chief of the Chavante Indians is western Brazil has decided to run for the National Congress. If he wins he will be the first Indian ever to sit in the legislature. One of his objectives is to do away with FUNAI while promoting education and health of the Indian people.[39] These actions are the essence of improvement.

FUNAI Cuts Grants to Indian Students

The latest move on the part of FUNAI, the Brazilian National Indian Foundation, is yet another example of the way in which this agency works against the interests of the Indians which it is supposed to uphold and protect. Just before the start of a new academic year, FUNAI announced that the grants to Indian students in Brasilia would be stopped. This is a thinly-disguised attempt by FUNAI to break up the autonomous and representative student organization, UNIND (Uniao das Nacoes Indigenas).

By 1977 four Indian students went to Brasilia to duty on FUNAI grants. By 1980 this number had grown to fifteen and included members of the Canela, Bororo, Terena, Caraja, Tuxa and Bacairi tribes. In 1980 the FUNAI grants amounted to a little over Cr 1,000 per student for books etc., and a contribution to board and lodging. The rest of the accommodation expenses were met by the Casa do Ceara, the university residence where the Indians stayed. The Indians were responsible for their own tuition fees.

During January 1980 the DOG (Department of General Operations) of FUNAI under Colonel Ivan Zanoni Hausen, decided that the grants would be cut unless the students were prepared to continue their studies in cities nearer to their native villages. The justification for this was that the Indians should be in a more "familiar atmosphere". Col. Zanoni Hausen subsequently used the Indian Statute and studies made by FUNAI as further justification for the decision and then claimed it had been made on grounds of economy because FUNAI did not have its own accommodation for Indians and therefore had to pay a third party. A special team has apparently been set up within FUNAI to persuade the Indians of the necessity for this move.

The decision was timed to occur during the summer holidays and before the commencement of the academic year on 16 February. Eight of the Indian students involved were spending the vacation at home and therefore could be prevented from returning by the simple expedient of FUNAI not providing the return fare to Brasilia. The seven who remained in the city suddenly found themselves faced with three days notice to quit Casa do Ceara. Three of the students went to FUNAI office and spoke to the Deputy Director Octavio Lima, as th President was on holiday. He said he had to knowledge of the DGO decision but that if the students wished to stay in Brasilia, they would have to do so at their own expense.

The Minister of the Interior, Mario Andreazza, to whom FUNAI is responsible, was also surprised to learn of the decision from the TV. He announced that the students could stay in Brasilia and that he was having a meeting with FUNAI to seek clarification on this and other matters. A Ministry spokesman also said there was a possiblity of changes of personnel within the ranks of FUNAI. Following this, the Indians presented a document to Andreazza on 2 February in which they described the history of discrimination against Indians in school, thanked the Minister for his permission to stay in the city, criticised FUNAI and explained the functions of UNIND. This was delivered to Andreazza's Assistant, Paulo Rio who told them the Minister was studying the case and promised a solution "within a few days". Indian students were anxious to maintain personal contact with the Minister.

After the delivery of this document, the Indians were interviewed and commented on the contradictory policies of FUNAI... They also voiced the opinion that FUNAI was practising racial discrimination and did not wish to have Indians educated or working in FUNAI. They believe that FUNAI wants to preserve Indians as a zoological exhibit in the jungle.

Andreazza did not meet the Indians and said that the seven students...should be removed because they were unemployed and therefore could not stay. He added that he was satisfied with the FUNAI studies and as the matter had been under consideration since May 1980, no one should be surprised by the decision. He claimed this action was in keeping with FUNAI's policy of a "family environment" for Indian students and denied that it was a political move against UNIND. He pointed out that FUNAI would be making about 1200 grants this year valued at about Cr$ 12 million. He said that government policy encourage cohesion among the indigenous communities but could not tolerate the idea of separate nations within the Brazilian nation.

UNIND (Uniao das Naceos Indigenas - Union of Indian Nations)

The fifteen Indian students mentioned above formed UNIND in April 1980 after FUNAI had denied them any participation in National Indian Week. It brings together students of various Indian nations who experience many common problems. Although it is not recognized by the Ministry of the Interior, the Indians are not worried a they say their existence as separate nations with their own languages and customs is self-evident. They state that being a member of an Indian nation does not prevent them from being patriotic Brazilian citizens.[40]

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[31] Ibid

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BOOK II

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DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Introduction

The Inca empire was one of the greatest in history. It lasted for over five hundred years, (AD 1000-1531) comprised more than 3,500,000 people and covered 380,000 square miles, - and area equal to the eastern American seaboard. The Inca civilization was highly complex and developed. Its achievement was exemplified in the discovery in 1911 of the legendary Inca city of Machu Picchu high in the Andes mountains.[1] Since the collapse of the Inca empire, the Indian people of the area have suffered great indignities. This chapter protrays some of their suffering and difficulties.

There are three countries concerned, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru. The Ayamara and the Quechua Indian, whose ancestors were the great Incas, are the main Indian nations of Bolivia and Peru. Although the Indians of Ecuador are not part of the same nations, they speak Quechua, a legacy of the Inca empire. Consequently they are considered in conjunction with this group. Moreover, the historical and political similarities reinforce this lumping together of three nations. There is one other similarity worth noting and that is the large size of the indigenous population in relation to the total population.

TABLE I

Indigenous Population

	Total Population	Indigenous Population	Indigenous Population as % of the Total
Bolivia	5,290	3,526	66.6
Ecuador	7,550	2,654	35.1
Peru	16,820	6,025	35.8

Sources: Estimated mid-1978 World Bank Atlas,1979, (Washington: World Bank) Estimated mid-1978, America Indigena 2 Vol. 39 Mexico, 1979

There is another common element to all three of these countries, they are developing countries. In relation to Canada and the United States they are poor, although they are certainly not the poorest countries in the world. The statistics that are attached compare in general terms the 3 countries under discussion with Canada. In almost every category of wealth and educational performance Canada has more or achieved more than the Andean countries.

But this is a function of wealth, not intellect.

> In several studies family background is the single most important determinant of school outcomes. It is usually a composite measure of parents occupation, incomes and education. Upper income children may tend to learn the language skills and other behaviour rewarded by schools. They also have access to books, literate parents, toys and other conditions at home.[2]

Even though there are small groups in each of these countries who fit the above, on a national scale there is no comparison with Canada. How much worse it is for the Indian people who are at the bottom of the economic ladder, who live in rural areas and whose pride and culture have been oppressed for centuries. It is true that these conditions can be used to describe the situation of the indigenous population in Canada but the difference, which is the difference between the developed and the developing world, is the degree of those conditions.

TABLE I

National Languages - Total Population

		Quechua	Ayamara	Other Foreign Languages	Spanish	Foreign Languages	Unspecified
Total of Republic	17,779,500	4,731,108	514,325	187,165	12,148,715	79,545	118,642
5 to 16 years	6,773,989	1,463,182	162,576	74,514	5,019,526	13,548	40,643
17 years and over	10,969,952	3,258,076	351,038	109,700	7,108,529	65,819	76,790
Unspecified	35,559	9,850	711	2,951	20,660	178	1,209

Source: Statistics of Education 1980
Ministry of Education - Office Secretarian of Statistics

TABLE II

COUNTRY	CANADA	BOLIVIA	ECUADOR	PERU
POPULATION	23,280,000	5,150,000	7,556,000	16,358,000
GNP AT MARKET PRICES (US$)	194,660,000,000	2,460,000,000	6,000,000,000	11,800,000,000
GNP PER CAPITA	8,350	480	820	720
TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION	16,721,589,000 (DOLLARS)	2,760,992,000 (PESOS)	6,703,875,000 (SUCRES)	34,150,500,000 (SOLES)
CURRENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION	14,994,978,000	2,644,057,000	5,766,300,000	31,921,000,000
CURRENT EXPENDITURE AS A % OF TOTAL	87.9	95.8	85.9	93.5
CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION	1,726,611,000	116,935,000	947,575,000	2,229,500,000
EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	9,180,922,000	N/A	4,830,714,000	20,240,616,000
SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS	149,418,000	N/A	29,481,000	N/A
NOT DISTRIUBTED/ADMINISTRATION	2,174,866,000	N/A	687,655,000	2,038,809,000
ENROLLMENT RATIO - FIRST LEVEL	101%	*86%	108%	112%
- SECOND LEVEL	89%	*29%	46%	50%
- THIRD LEVEL	37.66%	*12.61%	N/A	15.79%
TEACHING STAFF	255,900	38,737	*33,567	75,491
PUPILS ENROLLED	2,372,784	879,826	*1,278,402	3,019,642
PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO	19.1	23.1	38.1	40.1
ENTRANCE AGE - FIRST LEVEL	6-11	6-13	6-11	6-11
- SECOND LEVEL	12-14	14-17	12-14	12-14
(SUB-DIVISION) SECOND LEVEL	15-17	N/A	15-17	15-16
TEACHERS - SECOND LEVEL	N/A	7,143	29,006	35,183
STUDENTS - SECOND LEVEL	2,528,387	130,029	472,949	969,129
NUMBER OF STUDENTS PER 100,000 INHABITANTS AT THIRD LEVEL	3,548	1,035	2,613	1,425
TOTAL POPULATION	*12,618,015	*2,157,346	2,296,282	5,008,980
NO SCHOOLING	*1.8%	*43.0%	*31.9%	38.0%
IMCOMPLETED FIRST LEVEL	18.5%	41.7%	53.7%	47.1%
COMPLETED FIRST LEVEL	12.2%	N/A	N/A	N/A
ENTERED SECOND LEVEL	36.6%	9.3%	5.9%	13.4%
COMPLETED SECOND LEVEL	N/A	N/A	5.3%	N/A
POST-SECONDARY	30.9%	5.9%	3.2%	4.5%

ENDNOTES

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BOLIVIA

Bolivia is the fifth largest country in South America. The official language of the country is Spanish. Bolivia has a highly centralized national government, in which the decisive power is in the hands of the President. Down from the national level, the country is divided into departmentos, provincias and cantons. Domination by the central executive over the regional and local levels of government is ensured because their key officers are appointed from the top.[1] The population of Bolivia was 5,290,000 from the 1978 figures. The Gross National Product per capita in United States dollars was $510. Bolivia has the lowest per capita income of all the countries in this study. The growth rate of the Gross National Product per capita for the period 1970-77 was 2.9%. The growth rate of the population for the same period was 2.7%.[2]

Native Population

> ...According to the National Planning Agency, the Bolivian population is 52.9 percent Indian, 43 percent Cholo (mixed descent), 14.8 percent white, and 0.3 percent other races. (Osborne, 1964 p.106) In fact, this is more a distribution of cultural types than an racial distribution. There are few whites in Bolivia who have no Indian ancestry.[3]

The Bolivian population in 1973 was estimated to be 5 million and was growing at an annual rate of 2.5 percent. Approximately 70 percent of the people whose average life expectancy is between 46 and 50 years, are concentrated in the Altiplano area (10 percent of the total land area) which contains the capital and major city of La Paz. The official language of the country is Spanish, but Indian languages of Quechua and Aymara are widely used in the rural areas.

Estimates of the numbers of indigenous people, (mainly Aymara and Quechua) range between 52 and 85 percent. The most often cited figures, however, fall between 70-75 percent. The majority of these Indians live in the high Altiplano regions of the country although there remain a number of smaller tribal and semi-tribal groups in the eastern lowlands.[4]

Constitution of Bolivia

February 2, 1967

Part One

The Person as a Member of the State

Title One. Fundamental Rights and Duties of the Person

Art. 5 No type of servitude is recognized and no one shall be compelled to render personal services without his full consent and due compensation. Personal services may be demanded only when so established by law.

Art.6 Every human being has legal personality and capacity, in accordance with the laws. He enjoys the rights, freedoms and guarantees recognized by this Constitution, without distinction as to race, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, origin, economic or social condition or any other.

The dignity and freedom of the person are inviolable. To respect them and protect them is a primary duty of the State.

Art. 7 Every person has the following fundamental rights, in accordance with the laws which regulate their exercise.

a) To life, health, and safety;
b) To freely express his ideas and opinions, by any means of dissemination;
c) To assemble and to associate for lawful purposes;
d) To work and to engage in commerce, industry or any other lawful activity under conditions which do not injure the collective welfare;
e) To receive an education and acquire culture;
f) To teach under the supervision of the State;
g) To enter, remain in, travel through and leave the national territory;
h) To make petitions, individually or collectively;
i) To private property, individually or collectively, provided it fulfills the social function;
j) To a fair remunertion for his labor, which will ensure to himself and his family an existence worthy of a human being;
k) To social security, in the form determined by this Constitution and laws.

Art. 8 Every person has the following fundamental duties:

a) To obey and comply with the Constitution and the laws of the republic;
b) To work according to his capacity and capabilities, in some socially useful activity;
c) To acquire at least an elementary education;
d) To contribute, in proportion to his economic capacity, to the payment of the public service;
e) To care for, nourish, and educate his minor children and to protect and support his parents if they are in a state of illness, poverty or need;

Title Four Cultural Regime

Art. 177 Education is the most important function of the State, and in performing this function it must promote the culture of the people. Freedom of teaching is guaranteed under the tutelage of the State. Public education is gratuitous and it shall be provided on a democratic, one-school-for-all basis. The elementary phase is compulsory.

Art. 178 The State shall encourage vocational education and technical professional instruction, guided by the degree of economic development and the sovereignty of the country.

Art 179 Literacy is a social necessity to the attainment of which all inhabitants of the country must contribute.

Art. 180 The State shall give assistance to students who lack the means for access to high education, in order that ability and vocation shall be the conditions that prevail over social or economic position.

Art. 181 Private schools shall be subject to the same authorities as public schools and shall be governed by officially approved plans, programs and regulations.

Art. 182 Freedom of religious instruction is guaranteed.

Art. 183 Schools supported by welfare institutions shall have the co-operation of the State.

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Art. 184 Public and private education at the pre-school, elementary, secondary, normal and special levels shall be governed by the State through the appropriate ministry and in accordance with the Code of Education. The teaching staff is protected from removal under conditions stipulated by law.

Art. 185 Public universities are autonomous and have equal standing. Autonomy consists of freedom to administer their own funds; to appoint the rectors, faulty, and administrative staff; to prepare and approve donations; to enter into contracts to achieve their purposes; and to support and improve their schools and institutes. They may negotiate loans guaranteed by their own assets and funds, after obtaining legislative approval.

The public universities shall constitute, in the exercise of their autonomy, the Universidad Boliviana, which shall co-ordinate and adopt programs of their aims and functions through a central organization pursuant to a national plan of university development.

Art. 186 The public universities are authorized to grant academic diplomas and degrees that are nationally recognized.

Act 187 Public universities must be obligatorily and sufficiently subsidized by the State from national funds, independent of their own, departmental and municipal funds, now established or to be established.

Art. 188 Private universitites, recognized by the executive power, are authorized to issue academic diplomas. Nationally recognized degrees shall be granted by the State.

The State shall not subsidize private universities. The operation thereof, their bylaws, programs and curricula, shall require prior approval by the executive power.

Authorization will not be extended to private universities whose curricula do not ensure a technical, scientific and cultural training in the service of the nation and the people, and which are not within the spirit inspired by this Consitution.

For the granting of academic diplomas by private universities, the examining boards, in examinations for degrees, shall be composed of delegates from the state universities in accordance with the law.

Art. 189 All universities in the country are obligated to maintain institutes for the cultural, technical and social training of workers and low income sectors.

Art. 190 Education in all its degrees shall be subject to the guardianship of the State exercised through the appropriate ministry.[5]

History

The MNR Government 1952 - 1964

From the end of the war of the 1930's the Indian people have slowly begun to get involved in the national life of Bolivia. After the war, many Indians did not return to their villages, but rather moved into the major population centres. Others, who returned to their villages, brought with them new political ideas. The 1940's saw a rise in the peasants and urban workers awareness of their position in Bolivian society; a position of virtual slavery maintained by semi-feudal systems of land tenure. This gradual awakening of Bolivia's people, combine with a series of military coups carried out by young nationalist officers, created the conditions for the so called revolution of 1952.

During the past 25 years progress has been made in removing feudal structures and other forms of serfdom in Bolivia. The census of 1950 had revealed that 3.8 percent of the private farms constituted 82.8 percent of agricultural property. Peasant "peons" on the large estates had been forced to provide compulsory unpaid labour under various labour systems known as "pongucafe", mitage, etc., depending on the exact form of service that the Indian labourers had to provide. Although some of the labourers were provided with small amounts of land on the estates for their own use, they had no control over the produce of his land and they often had to give animals or a percentage of the harvest to the landowners themselves.

Land-labour relationships were changed by the national revolution of 1952. The Agrarian Reform outlawed all kinds of personal servitude, and also provided for the extensive distribution of estate land to farm labourers. By 1955, the President of the Agrarian Reform Council, Herman Siles Suazo, could claim that 342,355 peasant farmers had received 973,065 hectares of land which they had previously had to work without payment. Also during the 1950's the Bolivian governments undertook to promote peasant organizations. Though peasant organizations existed prior to the 1952 revolution, (they played a central role in this revolution and had been crucial in forcing the new government to carry out the Agrarian Reform) this encouragement played an important role in increasing peasant organizations. Moreover, before 1952 the vote had been restrictyed to literate adult males who were property owners and had a minimum cash income. Now there was universal suffrage. As a result, the Indian population which made up Bolivia's majority immediately had the potential of playing a far greater part in the political and economic life of their country.

From 1952 through 1964 the MNR was in power. They carried out many reforms, although some eventually degenerated into debt bondage and corruption in land allocations. But the period did provide the catalyst for political development among the Indian peasantry even as the government itself grew more conservative and the Indian people became in its eyes a political tool, a convenient reference point in political rhetoric.

The Barrientos Period 1964- 1969

The period the military ran the government which it continues to do. It co-opted the established peasant unions with 1952 Revolution by instituting the Pacto Militar Campesino. When the military leaders changed so did the Indian peasant union leaders.

However a crucial issue did come to the fore during this time, that was the officialization of Aymara and Quechua as national languages. The Movimientos Universitario Julian Apoza (MUJA) in 1968 mounted a publicity campaign denouncing restrictions of Indians from primary, secondary and university levels because of the need to speak Spanish. Ten years later the Banzer regim promised that Aymara and Quechua would become official languages and compulsory in schools and judicial proceedings. However the essential element of discrimination based on language continues.

The Torres Period

During the 10 month rules of General Torres systematic persecution of the Indian majority ceased. For the first time a written history of Bolivia from the Indian point of view was printed. There was also a document produced stating an Indian political and idealogical position. The "Thesis Politico del Grand Pueblo Indio" contained the following points:

a) an historical analysis of the Indian from 1492 to 1971;
b) it criticizes parties of both the left and right for their abuse and separation from the Indian peasantry;
c) it proclaims the Indian movement as part of the Third World struggles;
d) it condemns the alliance of the military and old peasant unions;
e) it demands Indians be given political power based on their aboriginal and majority position in Brazilian society;
f) it demands Indians be masters of the military for their protection rather than their oppression.[6]

The Present Government

Further attempts to develop an Indian position were cut short in the bloody coup of August 1971 by then Colonel (now General) Hugo Banzer Suarez. A few years ago the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights stated, "It is evident that practices condemned by the U.N. Supplementary convention on Slavery are widespread and that the reasons for their existence are varied and complex". A further twist to this is that here have been plans to allow white colonialists from Southern Africa to settle in Bolivia in lieu of remaining in Africa, plans that have been condemned widely as a further threat to the present inacceptable position of the Indian majority in Bolivia.[7]

Legal Basis of the Education System

Bolivia's educational system is determined by a number of basic laws; The Consititution of 1961, the Bolivian Education Code (1955), the Statute on Public Education (1930) and the Educational Reform published in 1968, which includes the new Statute on the Bolivian school system and the Statute on the Administrative Services for Education.

Education at all levels, whether it is primary, secondary or non-university vocational, is under the supervision of the Ministry of Education (Article 198 of the Constitution). University establishment have technical, administrative and financial autonomy (Article 195). Public education is free and school attendance compulsory from 7 to 14 years of age, but many children particularly in rural areas, do not remain for the full primary years.[8]

Education Expenditures

Bolivia spent 397,156,000 pesos for the total expenditure on education in 1970. In 1977, the total expenditure on education was 2,760,922,000 pesos which resulted in an increase of 2,363,836,000 pesos over a seven year period. The amount spent on current expenditure for 1977 was 2,644,057,000 pesos. The current expenditure as a percentage of the total expenditure on education was 85.9% The amount spent on capital expenditure for 1977 was 116,935,000. The total expenditure as a percentage of the gross national product was 4.0%[9]

Canada spent 7,244,700,000 dollars for the total expenditure on education in 1970. In 1977 the total expenditure on education was 16,721,589,000 dollars over a seven year period. The amount spent on current expenditure for 1977 was 14,944,987 dollars. The current expenditure as a percentage of the total expenditure on education was 89.7%. The amount spent on capital expenditure for 1977 was 1,726,611,000 dollars. The total expenditure as a percentage of the Gross National Product was 8.0%.

The population of Bolivia in 1977 was 5,150,000 persons and with a Gross National Product (in U.S.) of $480. Compared with Canada's population of 23,280,000 persons in 1977, with a Gross National Product per capita of $8,350 (U.S). Bolivia has the lowest gross national product per capita of all the Lain American countries involved in the comparisons Canada's total expenditure on education for native people in 1977 was approximately 270 million dollars.[10]

Enrollment Ratios

Bolivia's enrollment ratio for 1976 was 86% for the first level. At the second level the enrollment ratio decreases to 29% and further drops to 12.61% at the third level.

Canada's enrollment ratio for 1976 was 100% for the first level. At the second level the enrollment ratio was 91% and for the third level it was 38.65%.

In Bolivia the first level includes 6-13 years of age, the second level includes 14-17 years of age and for the third level, 20-24 years of age.

Pupil/Teacher Ratio

In 1975, Bolivia had 4,893 schools with a teaching population of 879,826 pupils. The pupil/teacher ratio was 23 pupils per teacher.

In Canada there were 256,200 teachers with a student population of 2,440,016 pupils in 1975. The pupil/teacher ratio was 20 pupils per teacher. For the Indians in Canada the pupil/teacher ratio was approximately 23 pupils per teacher.

Entrance Age

Bolivia's compulsory education begins at the age of 6 for the first level and continues until the age of 13. The second level of compulsory education begins at the age of 12 and continues until the age of 14. There is a sub-division of the second level which begins at 15 and continues until the age of 17. Compulsory education for Bolivia begins at the age of 6 through to the age of 14 with a duration period of 8 years. Compulsory education for Canada begins with a duration period from 8 to 10 years.

Teachers/Student Ratio at Second Level

In 1975, Bolivia had 7,143 teachers at the second level with a student population of 130,029 pupils. For the same year Canada had a student population of 2,588,133 pupils. In 1970 Canada had 97,000 teachers at the second level. The secondary school participation by Indian students in Canada was 65% of the age group from 14 to 18 years of age (of the total Indian population for that age group) enrolled in school for 1975, while the national average was approximately 75%.

Number of Students per 100,000 Inhabitants at Third Level

Bolivia had 1,035 students per 100,000 inhabitants at third level education in 1977. The number of male students at third level was 1,436 per 100,000 inhabitants and the female number of students at the third level was 645 per 100,000 inhabitants.

In Canada, there were 3,548 students per 100,000 in 1977. The number of male students at third level education was 3,686 per 100,000 inhabitants and the female number of students was 3,411 per 100,000 inhabitants. The figures show that the number of males and females at third level educational is almost divided equally in Canada. Once again priority is given to the males in Bolivia as stated by the number of males entering third level education as opposed to the number of females entering third level.

The number of Indians in Canada enrolled at university in 1977 was approximately 2,300 students. Approximately 5% of the Indian population aged 18 to 24 years of age was enrolled at university, while approximately 12% of the national population aged 18 to 24 years was enrolled at university in Canada.

Adult Education

Bolivia in 1976 had a population of 2,157,346 who were 20 years and older. Of that total 43.0% had no schooling, 41.7% incompleted the first level, 9.3% entered the second level and 5.9% were in post-secondary education.

Canada in 1976 had a population of 12,618,015 who were 25 years and older. Of that total 1.8% had no schooling, 18.5% incompleted the first level, whereas 12.2% completed the first level, 36.6% entered second level and 30.9 were in post-secondary education. In Canada there were approximately 1,000 Indian adults enrolled in basic literacy courses for the year 1976 and approximately 9,000 Indian adults enrolled in other literacy courses. Approximately 5,500,000 dollars was spent on expenditures on adult education in Canada for the year 1976.[11]

Conclusion

The statistics above provide just a hint of the difference between urban and rural, between white and Indian. David White of the Financial Times writes:

> But socially Bolivia has perhaps the biggest and least approachable of its problems. The population is simply in the wrong place. The bulk of the people, the Indian peasants of the Altipano, are so dispersed as to make proper health and school facilitates a major challenge. Half the country is illiterate, and the infant mortality rate is among the world's highest at 154 per 1,000 live births. Existence for most people on the Altiplano is meagre, although real hunger is rare. While the middle class of La Paz (the capital) has enjoyed an unprecendented spree of consumerism in the first couple of years, the Altiplano peasants have shown little or no change.[12]

Mr. White views the process as an economic journalist, little concerned by the fact that the Altiplano may be the heriditary homeland of the Indians for thousands of years. Furthermore he admits that attempts to resettle them in other areas have been met with failure.

The real answer is political will on the part of the ruling elite. The fact that education in the native languages became a rallying point in the late sixties must be indicative of the desire of the Indian people to better themselves according to their criteria, not that of the white minority. The fact that the 1979 election promise of Indian languages, recognized as national languages is indicative of the latent power of the Indian majority. For the Indian people to better themselves it is necessary that education be a catalyst to political action and that the ruling groups be amenable to the majority's aspirations.

ENDNOTES

[1] William J. McEwen, Changing Rural Society - A Study of Communities in Bolivia, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975)

[2] World Statistical Yearbook 80, (Paris: UNESCO 1980)

[3] Op. cit., P.18-19

[4] "The Indian Struggle for Life in Bolivia" done by the Bolivian Action Coalition, Port Alberni, B.C.

[5] D. Peaslee-Xydis, Consitution of Nations, (The Hague; M. Nighoff, 1969)

[6] Bolivia Action Coalition, Op.cit.

[7] Ibid

[8] World Survey of Education, (Paris: UNESCO 1971) Vol. 5

[9] Statistics taken from UNESCO, Op.cit.

[10] Indian Conditions: A Survey, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1980)

[11] Ibid

[12] "Bolivia", Financial Times, February 8, 1979

PERU

The official name of the country is the Spanish Republic of Peru. It is located on the west coast of South America. The religion of the country is predominantly Roman Catholic. The official language is Spanish. Peru has twenty-four departments, one hundred and thirty-five provinces and one thousand, two hundred and fifty-nine districts.[1] The population according to the 1978 figures was 16,819,000 people. The Gross National Product per capita in United states dollars was $740 in 1978. The Growth Rate of the Gross National Product per capita was 1.8% for the period 1970-1977. The growth rate of population for the same period was 2.8%[2]

Definition of An Indian

One of the first decrees issued after General San Martin took over the provisional Government of Peru, was that in future the descendants of the original Inca peoples should not be called "Indians" or "Natives" but Peruvians.[3]

The traditional indigenous communities (communidades) in Peru enjoy a special legal status, and specific Acts or decrees have been issued for the protection or assistance of the Indians with respect to wages, organization of production co-operatives, personal services, domestic employment of young persons, internal migration, schools, etc. As individual workers Indians come under the general legal system; but as members of traditional comunidades they are governed by special provisions in the Constitution and the Civil Code relating to property.[4]

Upon the arrival of the Spanish the Indian population declined from between four million to six million in 1532 to approximately 1.5 million some 40 years later. According to census records, the Indian population continued to decline until 1796 when it reached an all-time low of under 700,000.

The difference between Spanish colonialism in Peru and English colonialism in North America is distinct. The English and later the Americans viewed the Indian essentially as an obstacle to permanent settlement. The Spaniards, on the other hand generally viewed the Indian as a means to an end, as manpower to be used in the quest for wealth and a triumphant return to Europe.

The Catholic Church played a primary role in superimposing Spanish institutions on colonial Peru in the form of teaching Christianity to the Indians.[5]

Indian Migration to Cities

The Indians have tended to migrate toward the coastal area in the hope of better conditions. As a result between 1940 and 1971 there was a huge increase of more than 50 percent in the urban population and this trend is likely to continue. Consequently large, unwieldy shanty towns where employment possibilities are almost non-existent have developed. In general, these migrants in their determination to adapt as quickly as possible to the Mestizo society, have rejected their own culture, language, dress and customs. Meanwhile those who have remianed in the Sierra distrust and fear the urban Mestizo and have combined apparent submissiveness with a stubborn rejection of anything from outside. These traits have enabled them to survive through centuries of oppression and exploitation. As a rule the Indian people have tried to avoid all contact with the authorities and offical institutions, including the schools which they believe to be destructive towards their culture and values.[6]

Legal Basis of the Education System

The Constitution of Peru requires that the Peruvian State be in charge of all education, both public and private, administering it and determining its aims and contents. Education is to be egalitarian and democratic, available to all without distinction under the law; it is to be free and compulsory primary level and in addition is compulsory for all children from 7 to 16 years of age; technical education is to be available through technical institutes and schools; the teaching profession is seen as part of the Civil Service and as such is protected by all legislation respecting public employment, and the State guarantees the liberty of teaching in the Universities.

The main legal text relating to Education is the Basic Education Law (No. 9359 of 1941) which covers educational administration, inspection, teaching staff, school property and teacher training institutions. Chapter 2 of this law supplements the provisions of the Constitution regarding free and compulsory primary education, specifies the obligations of the government and the Ministry of Education in various respects and sets out the aims of general primary and secondary education.

The regulations governing primary education were promulgated in 1966 and covered the aims of primary education; the functioning of primary schools, their staff, the duties of the headmaster, etc., the academic year, holidays, plans and curricula, discipline, the work of the Inspectorate-General, end of the year examinations and scholarships.[7]

Title III - Education

> Art. 71 The technical direction of education devolves on the State.
>
> Art. 72 Elementary instruction is obligatory and free.
>
> Art. 73 There shall be at least one school in every place where the school-going population amounts to thirty pupils.
>
> Complete elementary instruction shall be given in every provincial and district capital.

Art. 74 Schools functioning in industrial, agricultural or mining centers shall be maintained by the respective proprietors or enterprises.

Art. 75 The State promotes education in its secondary superior grades, with a tendency to free education.

Art. 76 In each department there shall be at least one school of an industrial scope.

Art. 77 The State promotes the technical education of workers.

Art. 78 The State promotes and contributes to the maintenance of pre-school and post-school education, and of schools for backward and abnormal children.

Art. 79 The moral and civic education of the child is obligatory and shall necessarily be inspired by national aggrandizement and human solidarity.

Art. 80 The State guarantees the freedom of the professorate.

ARt. 81 Teaching is a public career and gives right to the emoluments which the law fixes.

Art. 82 Archealogical, artistic, and historic treasures are under the guardianship of the State.

Art. 83 The law shall indicate the minimum amount of the revenue destined for the maintenance and diffusion of education and the proportion by which it must be increased annually.

Source: D. Peaslee-Xydis, Constitution of Nations, (The Hague: M. Nighoff, 1969)

Education History

At the time of Spanish penetration, the Inca empire ruled an estimated four to six million subjects. It possessed a well organized government based on a two-class society of aristocratic rulers and the masses and a common religion and language.

Members of the Inca's lineage formed the next highest level in the hierarchy of nobles. These people normally served as senior civil administrators, generals and priests and were responsible for the safety and the efficient operation of the institutions of the empire. They were distinguished from commoners by their fine dress and jewellery, their right to take more than one wife and by many other privileges.

Commoners lived within a community-centered folk culture where local customs and community values were dominant. Under direction from the nobles, the commoners produced the goods and services necessary to sustain the empire. A welfare state of sorts existed. The aged, the sick, the crippled-- as well as victims of famine or crop failure were all provided with the necessities of life by the government.

All formal education in the Inca empire was controlled by the priest caste and reserved for the upper group. Children of commoners were educated informally through productive labour in the rural agricultural community as well as through participation in the numerous religious, domestic, and recreational elements of pre-Inca culture that survived and flourished among the lower caste. A reflection of this life style prevails in the famous admonition still common in the highlands: do not steal, do not lie, do not be lazy, do not kill, do not harm or give affront, do not be adulterous.

The education curriculum varied in content but is thought to have contained history and legends of the Inca's religion, mathematics and language. Practical forms of geography, astronomy and military tactics -- usually relief models were also taught. The teaching of these subjects was done orally since the empire had no written language. Finally, the education of all women took place in the home.[8]

Colonial Education

The Catholic church alone controlled all education throughout the colonial period. The state did on occasion contribute minor grants and offer a few scholarships. The Crown, from time to time, vainly instructed the viceroy to found schools for the sons of Indian nobility. The concept of education as the obligation of the state did not exist in Peru until late in the 19th century. For example, in the development of colonial towns, the Government never provided for schools to educate the masses. On the contrary Spanish religious orders believed the medieval idea that education was an act of mercy prompted by Christian charity. Nonetheless and largely under Jesuit control, a few Indian schools and missions were founded. They can be described as class and race conscious in selection while the pedagogy was dogmatic, memoristic, authoritarian and unsystematic.[9]

Present Education

After independence the convents and monasteries were ordered to establish free primary schools. A further impetus to educational expansion were the needs of a slowly developing capitalist economy at the turn of the century.

Nonetheless the education system was designed for the middle and upper classes while the poor were left to fend for themselves. Nor did the style of education change fundamentally from the days of the Jesuits.

More recently, however, universal education has become an established practice. Education has affected the Indian populace in fundamental ways. For example, the establishment of schools in the Peruvian jungle altered the previously nomadic existence of the Indian tribes, forcing them to drop hunting and gathering as a means of economic support and turn to agricultural production. It has already been shown that the Indian people often view education as a threat to their culture and way of life and the above is a classic example of this effect.

In 1972 the Peruvian Educational Reform was introduced by Augusto Salazar Bondy. Based on the writings of Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, and others the education system was intended to create the "new Peruvian man" by liberating the self and concentrating education in the community and relating it to the latter's needs. Nucleos, or school-community centres were established which were the new administrative centres. The director is chosen by the Ministry and the council elected by the local teachers, parents and officials. Although conceptually a democratic system, the inability of the communities to understand and be motivated towards the system because of a lack of training and self-leadership as well as more basic priorities; centralized control of curriculum (based on American models); obligatory centralized programs; and an historical authoritarianism combined with an entrenched education bureaucracy have prevented the system from living up to its pronounced ideals.[10]

Teacher Unions

The most vocal critique of the aforementioned reform and how it has been implemented has come from teachers, who have organized themselves into a union, SUTEP. In 1973, a SUTEP-sponsored strike was declared illegal by the government, teachers were jailed, and leaders deported. Later the government created an "official" union, SERP, which has tried to undermine any anti-government activity of the popular based group.

Many teachers have resented the retraining programmes, not only because they are obligatory, but because of their imposing style and content. As with other contradictions the system uses old methods, lectures, and rote learning to teach the new participatory principles. Moreover there is heavy indoctrination in ideo-political government lines, and a lack of solid pedagogical training. Consequently, this contradiction is repeated in classrooms where teachers are trying to implement the reform.[11]

Teachers and Attitudes Towards Indians

Peru's public school system functions for the "urban lower and middle classes who comprise all of the third and part of the fourth and highest quartile" of taxpayers. The monies expended on behalf of those groups has not been extended to the rural poor. The upper class does not use public education facilities. Peruvian rural schools are in unbelievably poor condition for the educational process. One writer, Vasque, in 1965 dramatically documented this in his description of the early development of the Vicos Nucleo Escolar. Teachers were recruited to the school for extra salary or the expectation of light duties or sent as punishment by the Ministry of Public Education bureaucrats. Most of the teachers, during the first five years of the school's existence, worked fewer than seventy-five percent of school days, actively tried to avoid their responsibilities, were insubordinate to the principal, and engaged in hostile intrigue among themselves. Their physical punishment of Vicos children was excessive and they employed much verbal abuse, calling the pupils viles names and insulting them in other ways. Some teachers used the children to run errands to towns located miles from Vicos, or put them to work as household servants. Cases of drunken appearances in the classroom by teachers went unpunished. Vasque stated:

> We believe that the Vicos teachers' behaviour was related to their maladjustment as people and Mestizo's in relation to an Indian school and community in which they felt no personal interest. On the contrary, they held strong predjudices and felt aversion toward Indians.

> These circumstances caused the teachers to escape from the school and from Vicos, using a series of excuses and justifications which allowed them to be with their own kind. Otherwise, they turned to drunkenness.[12]

Plank says of teachers in the Sierra:

> ...comparatively few...are in any way qualified for their posts and ...relations between the teachers and their Indian students are characterized by misuderstanding and mutual hostility. Appointments to teaching jobs are determined by political considerations, and not infrequently teachers are simply agents of the local (bosses). The teachers themselves are white or Mestizo and, regarding themselves as gente decente ("decent people"), think of their occupation as that of teaching brutos, brutes not future citizens of Peru.[13]

Letter Sent to the Embassy of Peru and Reply, Toronto, May 22, 1981

> Dear Sir:
>
> I am currently working for the Ontario Indian Education Council on a project of educational comparisons between Canada and Latin America. In the course of my research I have read from "The Educational System of Peru", which stated, "Language of Instruction: Spanish is the traditional language of instruction." However, since May 1975, Quechua also has been recognized as an official language of the Republic and will therefore be a require subject at all levels of education." My question is, has the indigenous language of Quechua been passed as a law or still only being recognized?

The Reply from Embajada del Peru

> Ottawa, June 5,1981
>
> Dear Sir:
>
> As to Quechua, being an official language, I cannot rightly answer your query since this was a Devree Law enacted by a military government and the present freely elected democratic regime's parliament has by no means confirmed

all the laws enacted by the previous regime.

However, my impression is that while some parts of the law that established Quechua as an official language have remained in force; that is the right to trial in their own language by unilingual Indians and certain civil rights guarantees, the establishment of Quechua as a language of instruction through-out Peru was quietly set aside since most of the population speaks Spanish and did not desire this. The unilingual Quechua speakers from perhaps 7% of the population, mostly aging; bilingual speakers are perhaps 40% and groups were opposed to the teaching of Quechua as a subject for which they were not consulted. Aside from which, they ran into practical problems such as the fact that the only way to do it appeared to be to displaced the teaching of English as a second language which was vigorcusly resisted and anyway, there weren't enough trained Quechua teachers to do a good job.

Yours sincerely,
Victor Fernades-Davila Charge d'Affaires a.i.

TABLE II

Languages Spoken - Student Population

Registry for Languages That Are Spoken by Students, by level and kind.

	TOTAL	ONLY SPANISH	NATIVE TONGUE	FOREIGN	SPANISH NATIVE	SPANISH FOREIGN
Total of Republic	4,907,879	3,706,327	113,372	8,743	1,038,147	42,290
Initial	228,168	167,521	7,073	183	52,022	1,369

Source: Statistics of Education 1980
Ministry of Education - Office of Secretarian of Statistics

Total Expenditures on Education

Peru spent 9,026,900,000 soles for a total expenditure on education in 1970. In 1977, the total expenditure on education was 34,150,500,000 soles which resulted in an increase of 25,123,600,000 soles over a seven year period. The amount spent on current expenditure for 1977 was 31,921,000,000 soles. The current expenditure as a percentage of the total expenditure on education was 93.5%. The amount spent on capital expenditure for 1977 was 2,229,500,000 soles. The total expenditure as a percentage of the Gross National Product was 3.4%.

Canada spent 7,244,700,000 dollars for the total expenditure on education in 1970. In 1977 the total expenditure on education was 16,721,589,000 dollars which resulted in an increase of 9,476,889,000 dollars over a seven year period. The amount spent on current expenditure for 1977 was 14,994,978,000 dollars. The current expenditure as a percentage of the total expenditure on education was 89.7%. The amount spent on capital expenditure for 1977 was 1,726,611,000 dollars. The total expenditure as a percentage of the Gross National Product was 8.0%.

The population of Peru in 1977 was 16,358,000 persons and with a gross national product per capital (U.S) of $720. Compared with Canada's population of 23,280,000 persons in 1977, with a Gross National Product per capita of $8,350 (U.S.).[14]

Canada's total expenditure on education for native people in 1977 was approximately 270 million dollars.[15]

Total Current Expenditure on Education

The total current expenditure on education for Peru in 1977 was 22,658,547,000 soles. The amount for the emoluments of teachers was 20,240,616,000 soles and the amount not distributed/administration was 2,038,809,000 soles.

Canada's total current expenditure on education was 14,875,416,000 dollars for 1977, of which 9,180922,000 dollars was spent on the emoluments of teachers. The amount not distributed/administration was 2,174,866,000 dollars and the amount for scholarship/grants was 149,418,000 dollars.

Comparatively speaking, 89% of Peru's current expenditure went to "teacher emoluments" where the figure for Canada was 62%.

Enrollment Ratios

Peru's enrollment ratio for 1977 was 112% for the first level.[16] At the second level the enrollment ratio decreases to 50% and further drops to 15.9% at the third level. Canada's enrollment ration for 1977 was 101% for the first level. At the second level the enrollment ratio was 89% and for the third level it was 37.66%. Peru's first level includes 6-11 years of age, the second level includes 12-17 years of age and for the third level includes 20-24 years of age. Canada's first level includes 6-11 years of age, the second level includes 12-17 and the third level includes 20-24 years of age.[17] In comparative terms, the most significant difference is in secondary education where half the Peruvian school population drop out where as in Canada it is only 11%.

Pupil/Teacher Ratio

In 1976, Peru had 19,701 schools with a teaching staff of 72,849 and a student population of 2,961,251 pupils. The pupil/teacher ratio was 40 pupils per teacher. In Canada, there were 255,900 teachers with a student population of 2,372,784 pupils in 1976.[18] The pupil/teacher ratio was 19 pupils per teacher. The effect on education in terms of teacher assistance of the child is dramatic when comparing the two teacher-pupil ratios of the countries.

Entrance Age

The compulsory education of Peru begins at the age 6 for the first level and continues until the age of 11. The second level compulsory education begins at the age 12 and continues until the age of 14. The sub-division of the second level includes the ages of 15 and 16. Compulsory education for Peru begins at 6 until 14 years of age. The duration is 9 years.

The compulsory education of Canada begins at the age of 6 for the first level and continues until the age of 11. The second level of compulsory education begins the age of 12 and continues until the age of 14. The sub-division of the second level includes the ages of 15, 16 and 17. Compulsory education for Canada begins at 6 years of age until 15 years of age. The duration is 8 to 10 years.[19]

Teachers/Students at Second Level

The total number of teachers at second level in 1970 was 31,587 and in 1977there were 35,183 teachers. There was an increase of teachers over a seven year period of only 3,596. While the number of students in Peru were numbered at 546,183 students in 1970 and 969,129 in 1977, which resulted in an increase of 422,946 students over a seven year period.

Whereas in Canada the number of teachers in 1970 was 97,000 with a student population of 1,646,913 pupils at second level education. In 1977 there was a student population of 2,528,387 an increase of 891,474 students over a seven year period.[20]

In Canada the secondary school participation was 60% of the age group from 14 to 18 enrolled in school for 1977 (Indian Students) while the national average was approximately 72%.[21]

Number of Students per 100,000 Inhabitants at Third Level

Peru had 1,425 students per 100,000 inhabitants at third level education in 1977. The number of male students at third level was 1,927 per 100,000 inhabitants and the female number of students at this level was 919 for 100,000 inhabitants.

Whereas in Canada, there were 3,548 students per 100,000 inhabitants in 1977. The number of male students at third level education was 3,686 per 100,000 inhabitants and the female number of students was 3,411 per 100,000 inhabitants.[22] In Canada the figures show that the number of males and females at third level education is almost divided equally.

The number of Indians enrolled at university in 1977 was approximately 2,300 students. Approximately 5% of the Indian population aged 18 to 24 years of age was enrolled at university in Canada.[23]

Priority is given to the males in Latin American countries, as stated by the number of males entering the third level education as opposed to the number of females entering third level.

Adult Education

Peru in 1972 had a population of 5,008,980 who were 25 years and older. Of that total 35.0% had no schooling, 47.1% incompleted the first level, 13.4% entered second level and 4.5% were in post-secondary education. The urban population of 5 years and older was 7,073,800. Of that total 23.7% had no schooling, 42.4% did not finish the first level, whereas 27.6% completed the first level, 12.8% entered the second level and 10.1% completed the second level and 4.8% were in post-secondary education. The rural population of 5 years and older was 4,689,400. Of that total 27.7% had no schooling, 32.8% incompleted the first level and 6.3% completed the first level, 2.0% entered the second level and 0.9% completed the second level and 0.3% were in post-secondary education.[24]

Canada in 1976, had a population of 12,618,015 who were 25 years and older.[25] Of that total 1.8% had no schooling, 18.5% incompleted the first level, whereas 12.2% completed the first level, 36.6% entered the second level and 30.9% were in post-secondary education. The urban population of 25 years and older was 9,719,770. Of that total 1.6% had no schooling, 17.1% incompleted the first level, whereas 10.9% completed the first level, 37.0% entered the second level and 33.3% were in post-secondary education. The rural population of 25 years and older was 2,898,255. Of that total 2.4% had no schooling, 23.3% did not complete the first level, whereas 16.3% completed the first level, 25.0% entered second level and 22.9% were in post-secondary education.[26]

In Canada there were approximately 1,000 Indian adults enrolled in basic literacy courses for the year 1976 and approximately 9,000 Indian adults enrolled in other literacy courses.[27] Approximately 5,500,000 dollars was spent on expenditures on adult education in Canada for the year 1976.[28]

Summary Statistics

The following statistics are based on different and earlier data then those which have preceded. The intention is to provide the dramatic overview of education in Peru

Primary schools account for 80 percent of all enrollment but receive only 41 percent of the budget, while secondary schools receive 28 percent, higher institutions 6 percent and "other costs" 25 percent. Apparently Peru spent about $17.00 (U.S.) per elementary school child in 1960. For the same year it spent $115.00 per secondary pupil and $130.00 per university student. Even so the mass of pupils is concentrated in the lower grades. Almost 85 percent of all children enrolled in transition, even though nearly one half do not return the following year, and approximately one third complete the sixth and final year of primary schooling. A study done in 1959 showed that very few of those who even began schooling managed to complete the eleven years of primary and secondary school: of every 1,000 who entered first grade, 342 completed fifth grade; and of these, 210 began secondary school. Only 61 pupils graduated from the latter. According to the Peruvian National Planning Institute study of the 1961 census, the average school life for the whole population of Peru is 2.8 years and for those who have any contact with schooling at all it is 4.8 years. 45.8 percent of the people over the age of four have never had any schooling, while 33.9 percent have completed secondary schooling. Yet according to figures on the growth of teaching establishments between years 1955 and 1964, the number of primary schools increased by a third, the number of secondary schools doubled, and the number of higher institutions tripled.[29]

Present Enrollment

The Plan Del Peru 1971-75, projects 100% enrollment of the age group 6 to 11 by 1980. Since 1970, when it was estimated that 74% of the 6 to 11 year group were enrolled in school, enrollment growth has been impressive and ahead of that projected for interim target years. Between 1970 and 1974, growth in total enrollments for the first 6 years of schooling is estimated at 6.7% for the total period compared to that target of 3.3% and as for grade 7 through 9 is approximately 50% as compared to the target of 6.6%. Enrollments at the higher education level have been equally impressive. Between 1960 and 1970 university enrollments increased 257% and between 1970 and 1974 almost 30%.

Conclusion

The Indians of Peru, the Quechua and the Aymara are of the same tribe or nation as the Indians of Bolivia. Until these states became independent their history was similar and for a long time after that they continued to be similar. Although the social structures are similar in both countries, whites on top, Indians on the bottom, there appears to be a greater willingness on the part of Peru to undertake necessary reforms to improve the Indian's lot. but whether the socialist rhetoric about equality will be translated into reality on a wide scale remains to be seen. The fact that they have attempted to make significant changes is certainly a step in the right direction.

In rural areas, the illiteracy rate is around 50%. In the 1920's, Jose Carlos Mariategui wrote, "The problem of illiteracy of Indians goes beyond any pedagogical plan... The first real step toward their redemption must be the abolition of their servitude."[31] The truth of this statement obviously remains. An essential element to improvement and change is attitudinal as well as verbal.

For example, in Puno, a poor rural area of southern Peru, 12 university professors and students voluntarily assisted in the establishment of "children houses". In 1967 they taught fundamental education including basic notions of hygiene, improving craftmanship and ways of farming. The popularity amongst the Indian people was almost immediate. Informal pre-school education centers were established for the youngest children.

By 1979 there were 165 "children's houses" operating and another 250 planned throughout Peru.[32] But the important point to be made is the success was achieved by proper attitude and motivation by the instigators combined with an underlining willingness and desire by the Indian people to learn. This is the essence of change, growth and improvement of an Indian people who represent over 1 in 3 in the country.[33]

ENDNOTES

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ECUADOR

The official name of the country is Republic of Ecuador, located on the north-west coast of South America. Ecuador has twenty provinces and ninety three parishes. The religion of the country is predominantly Roman Catholic. Spanish is the official language although Quechua and other Indian dialects are widely spoken[1] The population of Ecuador was 7,814,000 as of the 1978 figures. The Gross National Product per capita growth rate was 6.1% for the period 1970-77. For the same period the population growth was 3.0%.[2]

Attitudes of Indian and White Toward Each Other

The Indian is deeply conservative and derives his security from resisting progress and change. He is continually on the defensive against anybody who is not a part of his immediate community, thereby, he believes in protecting both his few belongings and his family. The Indian views the white man and upper class mestizos as people who must be treated with deference due to their social position but who cannot be trusted and against whom he must always be wary and suspicious. The attitude of the Indian towards the white man especially is probably a hold over from pre-Columbian days when the Spanish conquisitadors replaced the Incas as overlords of the Indian masses.[3]

General History

Ecuadorian territory was first seen by western man during the month of April 1526, when Francisco Pizarro, in search of the fabled land of the Incas dropped anchor in what is now the port of Esmeraldas in northwestern Ecuador. He encountered curious friendly Indians when the Spaniards went ashore. They stayed for two days. They were impressed by the natives' combination of simplicity, kindness and industry. The Indians demonstrated considerable ability as fisherman and as farmers. Some of them wore gold ornaments inlaid with emeralds. For the Spaniards this was enough proof that this was part of the rich land, abounding in precious metals and jewels they were seeking.

Prior to European arrival a variety of Indian tribes lived in what is now known as Ecuador, dominated in varying degrees by the northern fringes of the Inca Empire whose seat of government was located in Quito, now the capital city. There is no record of any great aboriginal culture in this country. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that Ecuadorian rivers and mountains abounded in precious metals such as gold, the land was more fertile than that of Peru, and the jungles were less impenetrable than those of Columbia.

When Huaina-Capac became the Inca, he strove to extend the Inca empires over all Ecuadorian territory. As a result, for the last fifteen years of his reign Quito became the capital of the empire. It became the seat of the religious and erudit aristocracy which surrounded the Inca, thereby elipsing the Inca capital city of Cuzco. When Huaina-Capac died in 1526 he divided his empire between two of his sons. Atahualpa was to rule the northern half from the capital city of Quito, and Huascar the southern half from the capital city of Cuzco. Shortly after the death of their father the sons went to war to gain sole control over the empire. When the Spaniards began their conquest, Atahualpa had gained control over the whole empire. His victory was short lived however, as he was captured by the Spaniards and murdered.

The encomienda, an institution created by the Spanish which in theory was designed to civilize and Christianize the Indians in fact was an extension of feudal serfdom, providing landholders the manpower to exploit their lands. By the early seventeen hundreds two class groups dominated Ecuadorian society, The were: the chapetones, or individuals of Spanish birth; and the criollos, those individuals descended from pure Spanish stock, or mestizos of Spanish and Indian blood. The latter were usually wealthy, and considered the chapetones as parasitic bureaucrats or fortune hunters. Whether wealthy or poor, both of these groups looked down on the indigenous population. The crown's responsibility to the Indian was defined as primarily religious; the saving of his soul by means of an intense missionary effort.

This task was to be accomplished by dedicated missionaries under the guidance and assistance of the appropriate Spanish governmental institutions. It was felt that Cristianization could best be achieved [illegible] incorporating the Indian into the social structure as a serf.[4]

Legal Basis of the Education System

Education in Ecuador is governed by the Constitution, the Organic Law on Education and the law on Grades and Salary Scales of National Teachers (primary and secondary level). The Constitution stipulates that "all state education whether under the authority of the Central Government or the provincial or municipal authorities shall be secular -- that is , the State as such shall neither teach no attach any religion." Education and instruction are free, but the Government may grant assistance to private education only with the approval of the Council of State. "Primary and technical education in official establishments shall be free." (Article 171)

The Organic Law on Education made primary education compulsory for children between 6 and 14 years of age (Article 36) and declared it illegal to employ children under 14 years of age not regularly attending school (Article 58). The Constitution of 1967 extended the duration of compulsory school attendance to nine years-- that is, six in primary school and three in the lower cycle of secondary education. It extended the duration of primary education in the rural schools to six years. It recommended an increase in the education budget (up to 30% of the State budget) and the elimination of illiteracy by giving special attention to the peasants.

The Organic Law on Secondary Education, ratified in 1946, deals with the objectives of secondary education, the organization of the secondary schools the responsibilities and duties of the authorities and teaching staff, the school system, private establishments and the medical service. Technical education is governed by the General Regulations of 29 December 1947.

In 1944, a law was promulgated on grade and salary scales of teachers, guaranteeing the teachers stability of employment and laying down the conditions for their promotion.

The legislative Decree of 4 November 1959 states that in principle, all secondary teachers must hold the necessary diploma or the equivalent from a university in Ecuador or abroad.

Higher education is governed by the Organic Law on Education, which states in its Article 135 that "the universities, both private and public, shall be autonomous." The provisions concerning enrollment and examination are contained in various decrees and regulations.[5]

Constitution of Ecuador

Chapter IV. EDUCATION*

Art. 33 The State guarantees the right to an education that enables the person to live decently, to support himself, and to be useful to the community.

The right to education includes the right to equal opportunity to develop one's natural talents in a profession, art or trade to the degree or level providing the best guarantee of one's own welfare, for that of one's dependents, and for the service of others.

Art. 34 The State shall provide and regulate education. It is the right and duty of parents to educate their children and they therefore may choose the kind of education that shall be given to them.

The State shall establish the laws, regulations and programs to which public, municipal and private education shall conform, seeking the coherent unity of the educational process.

Art. 35 The State guarantees freedom of education within moral limits and those of democratic and republican institutions

Public education is secular, meaning that the State, as such neither teaches no opposes any religion.

Art. 36 The object of education shall be the full development of the personality and shall teach respect for fundamental rights and liberties; it shall favor comprehension and tolerance between social and religious groups, and the maintenance of peace.

On all levels of education special attention shall be paid to the moral and civic training of the students.

Art. 37 Elementary and basic education are compulsory; when public, they shall also be free.

Art. 38 In education, special attention shall be given to the rural dweller. Teachers and officials dealing with such persons should know Quechua and other vernacular languages.

In schools established in areas of predominantly indigenous populations, Quechua or the respective indigenous language shall be used, if necessary, in addition to Spanish, so that the student will gain a knowledge of national culture in his own language and afterward practice Spanish.

Art. 39 The State shall foster, establish and maintain technical schools and special institutions for instruction in arts, trades, commerce, agriculture and other remunerative occupations, according to the requirements of the regions and of the economic development and social progress of Ecuador.

The State, in collaboration with private entities and at a mutual expense, may found technical schools and other special establishments, and may entrust their operation to such entities.

Art. 40 The State shall devote its attention to the urgent elimination of illiteracy; the budget of the State shall be required to include items for this purpose.

Art. 41 In free institutions, whether public or private, supplies and social services shall be provided to those who need them.

Art. 42 Without prejudice to the appropriations provided in special laws to benefit private education, the legislature or, with its consent. the municipalities, whenever they deem such action appropriate, shall furnish aid to free private elementary and basic education.

Art. 43 Universities and technical schools are autonomous and are governed by law and by their own statues; to make this autonomy effective, the law shall support the creation of university endowment funds.

Their premises are inviolable, and forced entry may not be made except in the cases and under the conditions in which the dwelling of a person may be entered.

The maintenance of their internal order and security are within the competence and responsibility of their authorities.

The basic functions of the universities and technical schools are education, professional training, scientific research, the statement and study of the social, education and economical problems of the country, and contribution to national development.

Art. 44 Capable and deserving students have the right to attain the highest levels of study. The State shall make the exercise of this right possible through fellowships and other benefits to be awarded through competition.

Art 45 All educational sectors of the country, public as well as private, shall be represented on national supervisery boards of education, as provided by law.

> Art. 46 Stability and fair renumeration and guaranteed to teachers in all categories; the law shall regulate their appointment, promotion, transfer, and separation, in accordance with the characteristics of public and private education.
>
> *D. Peaslee-Xydis, Constitution of Nations, (The Hague: M. Nighoff, 1969)

Educational Structure

All public and private schools throughout Ecuador are under the control and supervision of the Ministry of Education and must follow the appropriate ministry-approved instructional programs. The organization of the ministry centralizes all education administration functions in Quito. Thus there is little decision making authority delegated to local regions.

There are five major agencies reporting directly to the Minister of Education through the minister's subsecretary. The subsecretary directs the portfolio in the event of the minister's absence, his normal role, however, is as the ministry's executive officer and administrative co-ordinator.

Department of Educational Planning- This agency is responsible for the development of educational programs; preschool, elementary, secondary, adult education, literacy education, and educational extension. It maintains statistical data on the educational structure and has branches dealing with: classification of teachers according to the level of their professional prepartion - which determines their standing on the ministry salary schedule; budgetary programming; organization and methodology; educational administration; and a Centre of Educational Credentials.

Office of the Technical irector of Education. This is the largest agency of the ministry and is responsible for the administration and supervision of the following activities, adult education, music education, physical education and sports, social welfare scholarships, secondary and higher education, in-service education, cultural extension programs, and preschool and primary education. It has a technical subdirector for the southern Sierra provinces. Provincial supervisors not under either of the above two technical subdirectors are under the supervision of the Department of Preprimary and Primary Education. The recent reorganization of the ministry has reduced the span of control of the technical director of education from thirteen to eight agency heads. This consolidation should increase the administrative effectiveness of the department.

Division of International Affairs - This section is quite small but maintains a permanent secretariat for UNESCO in Ecuador.

Internal Administration - Three offices handle the internal administration of the ministry; correspondence and archives, procurement of supplies and equipment and payrolls.

Department of School Construction - This department has the following branches; Projects and Plans, Technical Supervision and Shops.

In addition, the following three departments report directly to the Minister of Education; the National Educational Council, the Legal Counsel, and the Personnel Department.[6]

Rural Schools

Although the four year rural primary school has been extended to six years since 1967, it still is inadequate preparation for continuing in education for the individuals self improvement in the rural community if he finishes. The rural school program, designed largely by urban educators, is closer to satisfying individual needs for urban living than for rural community life. There is nonetheless, some hope about the rural school's ability to relate more effectively to pupil needs in the future. It is the national government's stated policy to alter its character in order to provide pupils with skills usable in rural areas and hopefully, as a result reduce the high levels of migrating unemployable young people from rural to urban areas. In addition, the training of Indians to be teachers working in rural areas should materially assist in the re-orientation of the rural school to local needs.

A major problem in rural education is the language barrier which most first graders must overcome. For though Spanish is the official language of the country, most mestizo and Indian labourers in rural areas speak Quechua as the common language. Few rural school teachers speak Quechua, and most are therefore, unable to communicate effectively with their pupils. With the exception of the University of Cuenca, all institutions of higher education as well as the nation's normal schools ignore the need for teaching Quechua to the prospective rural school teachers and educational administrators. The language barrier is a major factor contributing to the high drop-out rate - over 50% during the first year.[7]

Primary Curriculum

Since 1967 the curriculum has been constant throughout the country, in rural as well as urban schools in public as well as private schools. It is composed of 30 periods of weekly instruction, with each period lasting 50 minutes and generally divided into at least two different activities:

TABLE I

Curriculum for Primary Education 1975

Subjects	Periods per Week	% of Time
Spanish Language:		
Reading	3.3	
Penmanship	1.5	
Grammar Spelling	1.8	
Writing	1.7	
TOTAL	8.3	27.8
Mathematics	5	16.7
Social Studies*		
Immediate Environment	1	
Community and Country	1	
Continent and World	.66	
History	1.66	
TOTAL	4.3	14.4
Natural and Physical Sciences	2.3	7.8
Physical Education	2	6.7
Social and Civic Group Work	1.3	4.4
Health	1	4.4
Aesthetics:		
Music and Dance	1.3	
Art	1.3	
TOTAL	2.6	8.8
Practical Work:		
GRAND TOTAL	30.0	100.0

Source: Jacques Wilson M.P., The Development of Education in Ecuador, (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1970)

Literacy Programs

The government has developed a literacy program which has produced an average of 3,000 literates per years out of annual enrollment of 7,000. Roughly 400 literacy classes operate on a continuing basis throughout the republic. The average cost per student was S/18.30 (U.S. $.98). It should be noted that the literacy program in the past had tended to concentrate its efforts in the large urban centers and the rural communities on their perimeter. The real problem of the rural areas was ignored.

Literacy and adult education programs usually takes place in the evening and are staffed by primary and secondary school teachers who want additional income. The income they receive is minimal, averaging about S/150.00 (U.S. $8.25) per month. Courses consist of reading and writing programs, which occasionally are augmented by elements of mathematics, geography, history and civics. The literacy portion of the program is an accelerated one-year cycle accompanied by training in artisan occupations. The latter part of the program lasts from one to two years depending on the trade or craft.

The army also has literacy programs for those drafted each year to fulfill military service obligations. Soldiers received from 2 to 3 hours of instruction daily. The program includes not only literacy objectives but also a basic education in the following elementary school subjects: arithmetic, history, geography, morals and civics. Instruction is given by officers and teachers who are either secondary school or normal school graduates under contract to the army. Although the program by the army is limited in its numbers, it achieves outstanding results.[8]

TABLE II

Enrollments at each Level, by Sex and Type of School, 1972-73

LEVEL	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	FISCAL PUBLIC	MUNICIPAL PUBLIC	PRIVATE
Preschool	15,902	7,867	8,035	10,777	1,000	4.125
Primary	1,100,264	570,051	530,213	802,337	104,817	193,110
Secondary	267,925	144,026	123,899	168,339	8,031	91,555
Higher	43,743	30,623	13,120	34,510		9,230

Source: Jacques Wilson, M.P., The Development of Education in Ecuador, (Miami Press, 1970)

Expenditures on Education

Ecuador spent 1,445,003,000 sucres in total on education in 1970. In 1977 the total expenditure on education was 6,703,875,000 sucres which resulted in an increase of 5,258,872,000 sucres over a seven year period. The amount spent on current expenditure for 1977 was 5,766,300,000 sucres. This as a percentage of the total expenditure on education was 85.9%. The amount spent on capital for 1977 was 947,575,000 sucres. The total expenditure as a percentage of the Gross National Product was 4.5%.

Canada spent 7,244,700,000 dollars on education in 1970. In 1977 the total expenditure on education was 16,721,589.000 dollars which resulted in an increase of 9,476,889,000 dollars over a seven year period. The amount spent on current expenditure for 1977 was 14,994,978,000 dollars. This as a percentage of the total expenditure on education was 89.7%. The amount spent on capital for 1977 was 1,726,611,000 dollars. The total expenditure as a percentage of the Gross National Product was 8.0%.

The population of Ecuador in 1977 was 7,556,000 persons and with a Gross National Product (in US dollars) of $820. Compared with Canada's population of 23,280,000 persons in 1977, with a Gross National Product of $8,350 (U.S.). [9]

Canada's total expenditure on education for native people in 1977 was approximately 270 million dollars.[10]

Current Expenditure

The total current expenditure on education for Ecuador in 1977 was 5,756,300,000 sucres. The amount for the emoluments of teachers was 4,830,714,000 sucres and the amount not distributed/administration was 687,655,000 sucres. The amount spent on scholarships/grants was 29,481,000 sucres.

Canada's total current expenditure on education was 14,875,416,000 dollars for 1977, of which 9,180,992,000 dollars was spent on the emoluments of teachers. The amount not distributed/administration was 2,174,866,000 dollars and the amount for scholarship/grants was 149,418,000 dollars.[11]

Ecuador spends approximately 80% of the current expenditure on education for the emoluments of teachers whereas Canada spends approximately 60% of the current expenditure on education for the emoluments of teachers.

Enrollment Ratios

Ecuador's enrollment ratio for 1977 was 108% for the first level. At the second level the enrollment ratio decreases to

46%. Canada's enrollment ratio for 1977 was 101% for the first level. At the second level the enrollment ratio was 89% and for the third level it was 37.66%. For both countries the first level includes 6-11 years of age, the second level includes 12-17, and for the third level includes 20-24 years of age.[12]

Pupil/Teacher Ratio

In 1976, Ecuador had 9,696 schools with a teaching staff of 33,567 and a student population of 1,278,402 pupils. The pupil/teacher ratio was 38 pupils per teacher. In Canada there were 255,900 teachers with a student population of 2,372,784 pupils in 1976. The pupil/teacher ratio was 19 pupils per teacher.[13] For the Indians in Canada the pupil/teacher ratio was approximately 18 pupils per teacher.[14]

Entrance Age

For both Ecuador and Canada compulsory education begins at the age of 6 for the first level and continues until the age of 11. The second level of compulsory education begins at the age of 12 and continues until the age of 14. The subdivision of the second level includes the ages of 15-17. Compulsory education for Ecuador begins at the age of 6 through to the age of 14 with a duration period of 6 years. Compulsory education for Canada begins at the age of 6 through to the age of 15 with a duration period from 8 to 10 years.[15]

Teachers/Students at Second Level

The total number of teachers at second level in 1970 was 15,699 in Ecuador, and in 1977 there were 29,006 teachers. There was an increase of 13,307 teachers over a seven year period. The number of students in 1970 number 216,727 and in 1977 there was a student population of 472,949. There was an increase of 258,222 students over a seven year period. In Canada the number of teachers in 1970 was 97,000 with a student population of 1,636,913 at second level education. In 1977 there was a student population of 2,528,387 an increase of 891,474 students over a seven year period.[16] The secondary school participation by Indian students in Canada was 60% of the age group from 14 to 18 years of age (of total Indian population for that age group) were enrolled in school for 1977, while the national average was approximately 72%.[17]

Number of Students per 100,000 Inhabitants at Third Level

Ecuador had 2,613 students per 100,000 inhabitants at third level education in 1977. The number of male students at third level was 3,357 per 100,000 inhabitants and the female number of students at the third level was 1,867 per 100,000 inhabitants. Whereas in Canada, there were 3,548 students per 100,000 inhabitants in 1977. The number of males students at third level education was 3,868 per 100,000 inhabitants and the female number of students was 3,411 per 100,000 inhabitants.[18]

The numbers show that the number of males and females at third level education is almost divided equally in Canada. The number of Indians enrolled at university in 1977 was approximately 2,300 students. Approximately 5% of the Indian population aged 18 to 24 years of age was enrolled at university in Canada.[19] Once again priority is given to the males in Ecuador, as stated by the number of males entering third level education as opposed to the number of females entering third level.

Adult Education

Ecuador in 1974, had a population of 2,296,282 who were 25 years and older. Of that total 31.9% had no schooling, 53.7% incompleted the first level, 5.9% entered the second level, 5.3%

completed the second level and 3.2% were in post-secondary education. The urban population of 25 years and older was 958,110 Of that total 13.0% had no schooling, 56.7% incompleted the first level, 12.1% entered the second level, 11.2% completed the second level and 7.0% were in post-secondary education. The rural population of 25 years and older was 1,335,172. Of that total 45.4% had no schooling, 51.5% incompleted the direct level, 1.5% entered the second level, 1.1% completed the second level and 0.4% were in post-secondary education.

Canada in 1976, had a population of 12,618,015 who were 25 years and older. Of that total 1.8% had no schooling, 18.5% incompleted the first level, whereas 12.2% completed the first level, 36,6% entered second level and 30.9% were in post-secondary education. The urban population of 25 years and older was 9,719,770. Of that total 1.6% had no schooling, 17.1% incompleted the first level, whereas 10.9% completed the first level, 37.0% entered the second level and 33.7% were in post-secondary education. The rural population of 25 years and older was 2,898,255. Of that total 2.4% had no schooling, 23.3% incompleted the first level, whereas 16.3% completed the first level, 35.0% entered second level and 22.9% were in post-secondary education.[20]

In Canada, there were approximately 1,000 Indian adults enrolled in basic literacy courses for the year 1976 and approximately 9,000 Indian adults enrolled in other literacy courses.[21] Approximately 5,500,000 dollars was spent on expenditures on adult education in Canada for the year 1976.[22]

Conclusions

As with the other two developing countries studied here, the education problems are similar. The Indian population is essentially rural and the least emphasis is placed on rural education. The language of instruction is Spanish and the people speak Quechua. The economic system also discriminates against the Indian people. These factors along with a history of oppression have created an indigenous population that dislikes all attempts to impose change on them. At present the ingrained attitudes of both the Indian people and the ruling elite make it seem unlikely that there will be any dramatic improvements on the former's lot for the foreseeable future.

ENDNOTES

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THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES:
NORWAY, SWEDEN, FINLAND

Introduction

There are an estimated 50,000 Sami (Lapps) in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Northwestern Soviet Union.[1] Many of the Sami are nomadic and arrangements among a number of the countries have been made to accept the fact that they do not respect orders drawn on maps. Consequently, here, the approach will be primarily to approach the Sami in Scandinavia as much as possible rather than by individual countries. For simplicity the Soviet Union is excluded.

Scandinavia

Scandinavia generally includes Sweden, Norway and Denmark. In this case Finland will also be considered. These Nordic countries have affinities with one another and a distinction from the remainder of continental Europe.[2] Man has been in Scandinavia from prehistoric times. History records the people went through the various ore ages, that is Early Bronze, Late Bronze and Iron Ages. From the point of view of Western history books Scandinavia will be remembered as the land of the Vikings (AD 800-1050) when they were in their ships swooped down on the more southern European coasts and terrorized the local populations. They also established settlement in North America long before Columbus was supposed to have discovered it, as well as settling in Greenland and Iceland.

Today, Finland, Norway and Sweden are wealthy democratic countries, as the table below indicates.

TABLE I

	Population Mid-1977	GNP 1977 (US Millions)	GNP Per Capita (US$)
FINLAND	4,034,000	29,300	6,190
NORWAY	4,732,000	34,560	8,570
SWEDEN	8,263,000	77,200	9,340

Source: World Bank Atlas 1979, (Washington: World Bank, 1979)

By way of comparison, Canada's per capital GNP for the same time period was $8,350.

An important element of the Scandinavian tradition which includes Finland is that since 1872 there has been legislative co-operation. Consequently there is a considerable degree of uniform legislation, including contracts, commerce and to a lesser degree family, the person, nationality and extradition.[3]

The major historical difference between Scandinavian and Finland that should be noted is the historical and continuing influence the Soviet Union has played on the development of domestic and especially foreign policy.

Sami History

There is some dispute over the origins of the Sami. Certain scholars suggest their forefathers were paleoarctic peoples; others suggest they came from central Europe. Although today there is no unique features to the groups, their language is Finno-Ugric, similar to Finnish but not mutually understandable.[4]

The latest figure for the Sami of 50,000 was stated above. An earlier estimate also provides a general distribution of the Sami population. Then there were an estimated 35,000 Sami. Roughly 20,000 were to be found in Norway in the provinces of Trans Nordland and Finnuark. Another 10,000 lived in the provinces of Samiland, Vasternorrland and Norrbotten in Sweden. A further 3,000 resided in the province of Lapp in Finland. Finally, an estimated 2,500 inhabit the Kola Pennisula in the Soviet Union. The figures are undoubtedly higher but the general distribution of the Sami population probably has remained relatively static.[5]

Although the Sami population is increasing in relation to the total population, it is decreasing. Furthermore their land which is defined as Fennoscandia where they have lived for at least 2,000 years is either shrinking in area as other people move in, or shrunken as the people are forced to move further north.[6] This situation is similar if less violent to the North American Indians of a hundred years ago. Today, where the Sami lived over most of Finland, they now live in the northern extremity. In Sweden the Sami have been pushed away from the Baltic coast, while in Norway 96% of the Samis live north of 67°N.[7]

Culture

Although the Sami language is Finno-Ugric, there are three main dialects, eastern, northern and southern which are not mutually intelligible. As well as the languages, there are distinctive occupational groups - the Reindeer/Mountain Sami; the Forest; the River; the Coast; and the Skolt and Kola Sami.[8]

Historically the Sami were hunters and fishermen. As hunters they captured wild reindeer. The process of taming and breeding the animals took a millenium. There are two different types of reindeer breeding. There is a relatively stationary system in which the reindeer are allowed limited freedom of movement in a forest region. The other method, known as mountain reindeer breeding, is more nomadic and geographically spread out. Its main characteristics are long migrations between summer grazing lands in the mountains and winters pastures in the forest regions and along the coast.

Reindeer breeding has resulted in Sami villages being the administrative units for the grazing area and the community interests of the people in the area. The villages are strung out along the path of the migration. They are more permanent in the lower wintering areas.[9] As might be construed, reindeer breeding is primarily the occupation of the Reindeer/Mountain as well as the Forest Sami. However the actual number involved in reindeer breeding is small, perhaps 10% in Norway and 33% in Sweden.[10]

More than half the Sami or two-thirds of the Norwegian Sami are coastal fishermen with small agricultural holdings. As the occupational descriptions above imply, other lifestyles include fresh-water fishing, forestry and other more modern occupations.[11]

The Christian religion was introduced to the Sami as early as the 13th century. However the non-Christian beliefs and the dominance of the shaman were strong until the 18th and 19th centuries. One of the most influential figures on the Sami in the 19th century was Lars Levi Laestadius, a Christian missionary. Today, with the exception of the Skolt and Kola groups which are Russian orthodox, the Sami are Lutherans. In some communities there is strong evangelical congregationalism, called Laestadianism after the 19th century missionary. There is a strong belief in personal asceticism and open confessions of sin. Confessions are on occasion followed by ecstasy. The local congregations are in general fairly autonomous.

There is no distinction between a Sami's maternal and paternal relatives, they are equal. Emphasis is placed on one' own generation rather than one's ancestors, so that one's kinsfolk through marriage are as important as one's kinsfolk through birth. The kinship bond is strongest between brothers sisters, their spouses and their relatives. This group usually constituted a reindeer-herding unit. Cousins are described as half-brothers or half-sisters. Married women retain their maiden name.

All reindeer, though communally herded, are individually owned. The whole social structure stresses both individual rights and group unity; it stresses equality and competition within the group and between groups.[12]

The Sami and the Law

> Scandinavian law today is pliable and close to life, less dogmatic than other European legal systems and little bound by formal rules and exigencies. Great attention is paid to rules and principles evolved in practice, especially by the courts. Much of the law is judge-made, and as the principle of stare decisis (ie. being bound by precedent) does not obtain, the courts have been free to meet the demands of changing social conditions. Extensive participation of laymen in both civil and criminal proceedings may have contributed in some measure in the present standard of law.[13]

For the Sami, the description of Scandinavian law above has not always been so glowing.

The partition of the Sami's land into the national territories of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia was completed in 1751. The Lappacodicien of 1751 was similar to the 1763 Royal Proclamation in Canada, the Jay Treaty and the Indian treaties in Canada. It acknowledged Sami land use and herding patterns in the area. It also accepted a wide variety of Sami rights, including exemption from military service and trans-boundary crossing rights.[14]

However, these aboriginal rights and specific promises have been steadily eroded or broken. In 1852 the Finish-Norwegian border was closed to Sami crossing, nor was this the only case where the nomadic Sami and his herds encountered problems arising from the borders.

There is no generally accepted definition of the Sami. The Nordic Lapp Council, which includes representatives from Norway, Sweden and Finland, proposed that the Sami should be defined as a person whose parents, father's or mother's parents speak or have spoken the tongue of the Sami.[15]

As was previously stated, the number of Sami involved in reindeer migrations is small, yet many of the laws directed toward or against the Sami involved their nomadic lifestyle. In Sweden there was the Reindeer Grazing Law of 1928 which gave power of jurisdiction to regular public authorities over individual Sami matters. There were also village by-laws which drew their authority from the major statute.

The old 1928 law was superceded by the Reindeer Husbandry Law of 1971. It was designed to improve the efficiency of reindeer herds and recognized the co-opertive society that is the Sami village. By doing so it undermined the legality of above mentioned by-laws.

Nonetheless the Sami villages brought a suit against the Swedish government in 1966. The suit sought to establish the principle that the Sami right to grazing lands in certain areas of Sweden supercedes that of the Swedish state. In 1973, the Court rejected the claim, stating the aforementioned 1971 law established the limits to Sami rights to grazing, hunting and fishing. The Supreme Court of Sweden agreed with the decision of the lower court. However it was recognized the Sami held title to the lands in question during the 17th century and consequently they enjoyed a very strong usufuctuary (ie. the right to use or enjoy the land) right[16]

Other legal disputes continue as the world of southern Sweden encroaches upon the lands of the Sami. One author remarked, "the treatment of the Swedish Lapps compares unfavourably in many ways to the treatment with that of the American Indians."[17]

In Norway, as in Sweden, the main legal weakness is the legal position of the Sami with regards to their pasture land which was never clearly defined or agreed upon. The present law on reindeer herding became a statute in 1933. Prior to the establishment of the law, the draft of the law recognized the equality of the interests of farmers and Samis in disputes over land, but it went on to say, "But because its (Sami) position is much that of historical survival, one which to no little degree hinders the development of more legitimate and appropriate social interests, the limits on its claim are set. And these limits must, due to the very nature of the situation be yielding."[18]

Ms Ramsby observes that the Sami are at a lower social rank than the Norwegian population in general. She admits that this status was not due to legal constraints but other factors, however these other factors in the past had been abated by legislation.

> ...legislation especially concerning Lapps shows that the principle of equality was applied to them much later than to other groups. As late as the 1950's there were in force various laws plàcing Lapes in a less favourable position than other citizens.[19]

The whole issue of Sami rights came vociferously into the open when the Norwegian government tried to develop a hydro-electric project on the Alta river, one of Norway's last fine salmon rivers and in the heart of Sami land. The Sami rights movement was formed and the government in response created a Sami rights committee to consider constitutional rights for Sami and other measures such as an elected Sami parliament.[20]

The Sami position can be stated as follows:

> The Norwegian government's stand on the rights of indigenous peoples is inconsistent and therefore heavily criticized. On the one hand it supports indigenous peoples abroad, and on the other hand it discriminates the Norwegian Sami people. (SIC)
>
> - Internally, the Sami people of Norway are treated as a bothersome problem.
>
> - The Norwegian Government has not ratified ILO Document No.107 on indigenous peoples, and is not at all in a position to do so.
>
> - The Norwegian Government violates the final documents from the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva in August 1978.[21]

The Government's response has been the Rights Committee. Its mandate, in part, is as follows;

> The Committee must create a historical legal deed for legal concepts and legal regulations which have been in effect since the validity of the right to the utilization of land and water in areas with Lapp population. It shall also, be a historical legal deed regarding the factual use of land and water in these areas and regarding any eventual differences between the law and any factual utilization...
>
> The Committee shall specify what is meant by Lapp population...The question was raised with regard to the basic law specifications of the Lapp's status. The Committee shall work out a basis for any eventual composition of such specifications, and the Committee shall assess to what extent such special basic law specifications can be appropriate.[22]

Whether the two positions can come to some form of mutual agreement remains to be seen.

The legal problems that beset the Sami in Sweden and Norway are assumed to be the case to a greater or less degree in Finland and the Soviet Union.

Norway

In 1898 the Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, in its pursuit to assimilate the Sami, issued the following instructions:

> 3. The teaching in the schools is to be conducted in the Norwegian language. The Lappish or Finnish (Koen-ish) language is to be used solely as an auxiliary instrument to explain what the children do not understand...
>
> 4. Even if, in a particular district, the majority of the children do not understand Norwegian, the teacher should always keep in mind the above-mentioned regulations and thus consider it vital to avoid regular use of the Lappish or Finnish language, employing it only to that degree which is absolutely necessary.[23]

Although regulations have now been annulled, they were still in force in 1959 when the Lapp Commission's Regulation was presented.

Education of the Sami, relative to the Norwegian population as a whole is low. Many of the difficulties that face Canadian Indian children are aslo confronted by the Sami children. These include the language barrier; boarding away from home because of large distance to even the elementary school; children who have no home experience with formal education, including the use of paper and pencil; and teachers who have no knowledge or understanding of the native language or way.[24]

A study done between 1961-63 in the Sami towns in the province of Finnmark found that the children left elementary school with a level of knowledge below the minimum requirements of the Ministry of Church and Education - in fact the Sami children, after seven years of elementary education, had a knowledge level of three years. Furthermore the disparity between the Sami knowledge level and that of the Norwegian population as a whole increases with number of years of schooling.

In Norway, the least-demanding curriculum in junior high school normally excludes the students from pursuing higher education. As a rule only about 20% of Norwegian students choose this curriculum, yet preliminary studies have shown that in areas where there is high concentration of the Sami, this percentage increases to well over sixty percent.

As with the North American Indian, the result is the same - few of the total Sami student population go on to obtain higher levels of education which in turn would improve the Sami people's lot.

However, Ms Ramsby noted that the greatest successes for the Sami people in Norway have been in the field of education.[25] To further this process a draft proposal has been put forward by the Norwegian government to establish a committee to discuss Lapps cultural and educational questions:

> The committee shall among other things:
>
> - supply a review of Norwegian and other Nordic initiatives which, up to now, have been carried out in this field;
> - evaluate the question about the Lapp Language Law, if possible, other regulations concerning the use of the Lapp language in the public service and within the school system;
> - evaluate the need for economic contributions to Lapp cultural and educational initiatives, among others, the question about special public support for Lapp school-books and a Lapp press;
> - evaluate the extent of the Norwegian Broadcasting transmissions in the Lapp language.
> - evaluate the administrative organization of the work being done for Lapp cultural and educational matters, locally, regionally and centrally, among others, the question to establish a Lapp Cultural Council;
> - evaluate what are the Lapp cultural and

educational problems which can be solved best through Nordic co-operation.

- evaluate what kind of introduction into the Lapp language and culture the general Norwegian school system ought to provide.[26]

What the committee will recommend remains to be seen. The danger lies not in the committees' recommendations but whether or not the government has the political will to implement the recommendations as recommended rather than as political expediancy demands.

Sweden

Formal education of the Sami in Sweden began in the early 17th century. The Sky Heanska skolan was founded in 1632 at Lyskele by John Skytte. Between 1623 and 1722, 14 Sami students who graduated from the school went on to Uppsala University.

During the early part of the 18th century boarding schools were established in principal Sami areas. These schools, which were closely linked to the church were intended to provide Christianity and literacy to certain Sami students, who it was hoped, would then instruct other members of the nomadic herdsmen. The permanent and so-called ambulatory schools were in existence until the 1950's.

In 1913, it was decided the normal schools should be the primary educational institution. Since the normal schools were already generally inferior it meant that all Sami were to receive a lower grade of education than other Swedish children. The Sami protested at their national congress in 1918, but without result.

The 1913 school reform was done under the assumption that the Swedish authorities knew best what the Sami wanted and needed. There was a positive aspect to the reform and that was the establishment of normal school inspectors which allowed uniformed management of nomad schools[27]

In retrospect the education of Sami children was established on a more regular basis by the 1913 reform of the school system. The purpose of that reform was to give Lapp children "the best instruction possible", but also "to arrange instruction in such a way as to cure the children of nomadic life". In comparison with the rest of the national school system, the schooling given the Sami children was shorter, its aims were more limited and the qualifications of the teachers were less rigid. The language of the Sami was not considered fit to teach in. The Sami children were to be instructed in Swedish. This was consistent with the policy of the Swedish Government towards the Sami.

The main educational emphasis was on "traveling nomad schools" to accompany the Sami and their children. Later schools were established in villages close to the migratory routes of the Sami but a long way away from the places where the parents of the school children lived. Students were housed in "boarding huts", which were very primitive and unsanitary. These "boarding huts" remained in use until well into the 1940's and early 1950's.

Serious objections had been already raised to the short periods of instruction at the nomad schools, by the Sami and in 1939 the Riksdag (the Parliament) found that it was only right and proper for Sami children to be given schooling fully comparable to that provided for the children of the rest of the Swedish population. New and more up-to-date schools with modern boarding facilities were established during the 1940's, but the last of the temporary schools did not disappear until the school year 1950-51.

A policy resolution passed by the Riksdag in 1962, asserted the goals of the nomad or Sami school were to be the same as those of the elementary schools attended by the majority population;

Sami children were to be given instruction which in all respects was to be equal with that provided for the children of the majority Swedish population.

Teaching in Sami schools was and, with occasional exceptions still is provided in Swedish and this has caused the present system of Sami schools to be heavily criticized. The parity principle is queried, since Sami children have to follow instruction in a foreign language. The non-use of the Sami language as a teaching language also amounts to discrimination and degradation of the language and, indirectly to a degradation of the Sami culture.[28]

Adult Education

Because the system for Sami education was inferior, adults who attended school prior to the 1940's did not receive a true education. Furthermore a PH.d thesis by H. Johansson found for many Sami their schooling did not provide the benefits they sought.

Adult Sami wish to improve their education and preferably in their own language. At present there is a Sami high school in Jokkmokk which plays an important role in sustaining and promoting the Sami culture. However subjects, although instructed in the indigenous language, are confined to language and history. Moreover only 40% of the 60 students are Sami.

In 1975, the Government and Riksdag agreed to broaden opportunities for adult education and increase funding for adult students. Theoretically, this should mean adult Sami can study their own culture and obtain funding to do it.

Even though there is a quota system at the Lulia School of Education, giving priority to Sami applicants and a chair of Lapp studies at the University of Unea (which is vacant) there remains a shortage of qualified teachers and materials capable of truly promoting Sami language and culture.

Ms Blindh concludes:

> ...educational opportunities for the Lapps today are inadequate. Many surveys have borne witness to a great need, and this must be taken as a grave symptom of the existence of a forgotten group in the educational society.[29]

Finland

The Sami language is much closer to Finnish than to the majority of languages of the other countries. Therefore transition in school is easier. In general the Sami languages is taught as a voluntary subject, although the Board of Education tries to encourage it.

The Finnish Ministry of Education set up a committee to study the educational needs of Sami children. In the autumn of 1971 the committee recommended that the Sami children be taught in their own language for at least the first two years of the comprehensive school. As with the other two countries, Finland lacks qualified teachers of, and textbooks in the Sami language. There has been pressure brought to bear on the government which like its Swedish counterpart is trying to alter the situation. However the Sami have no opportunity of pursuing higher education in their own language and the number who take school-leaving examinations is low. As a result there are few Sami who have professional or managerial qualifications.[30] This situation, again, is very similar to the situation that exists with Canada's indigenous people.

Statistics

The purpose of providing this brief summary of statistics on education is to highlight the difference between majority populations of the Nordic countries and the Sami. The statistics which follow deal only with the majority population, thus what has preceded this section should be remembered. Furthermore the reader who is aware of the situation of the Indian in Canada can assume that there is similarity between the native performance relative to the Canadian majority and the Sami performance relative to the Nordic majority.

The average enrollment ratios in primary school for the three Nordic countries is approximatey 95% in 1977. For the same year, secondary enrollment declines to 81%. In comparison Canada has 101% and 65% respectively. No Nordic country is listed as having any adult citizen without schooling whereas in Canada 1.8% of the adult population has never attended school. Public expenditure on education as a percentage of the GNP was 7.0%, 7.6%, 8.4%, 8.0% in Finland, Norway, Sweden and Canada respectively in 1977.

In 1976, the pupil/teacher ratio in primary school in the Nordic countries was 17 to 1, for the same it was 19 to 1 in Canada. In all three nordic countries compulsory education is from 6 to 17 or 9 years duration whereas in Canada it varies from 8 to 10. For every 100,000 people in Canada, there were 3,548 post secondary students in 1977, the average for the Scandinavian countries was 1,956. Finally, for the same year 61.7% of current expenditure went on teachers salaries whereas it was 60% in Finland, 67.9% in Norway and only 49.2% in Sweden.[31] Thus from a statistical point of view there are not great differences between Canada and the three Nordic countries. It would be interesting to compare educational performance of the native groups to see if there were major differences in performance (notwithstanding our assumption) and if so, why.

Greenland

Prior to concluding this section, a brief look at Greenland may be worthwhile. Greenland is twice as large as the four Scandinavian countries combined, but only 16% of the island is icefree and smaller section of that is habitable. In 1978 the population was 50,000, most of whom were scattered along the west coast.[32] A quarter of the population is involved in hunting and fishing, the rest is transport and other services. The capital is Nuuk with a population of over 7,000.

Europeans first came upon Greenland when the Norse Viking Erik the Red landed there a thousand years ago. Norse settlements continued for another 400 years. In 1721 a Norwegian missionary came to Greenland and claimed it for the Danish crown. Over the next two hundred years Greenland remained a colony. At the time of colonization the Danish court was influenced by the French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his concept of the "noble savage". Consequently Greenland was cut off from the outside except for the missionaries, traders and administrators in order to preserve the Inuit culture. There was considerable intermarriage between these groups and the Inuit and a "Metis" class developed which played a central role in community leadership in the ensuing years.

During the 19th century experiments in elected local councils were made, the Greenlandic language was encouraged and the Lutheran state church became totally Greenlandized.

Following World War II and partly because of it, Greenland was formally integrated into the Danish state. In 1950 a joint Greenland-Danish Royal Commission recommended major social and economic reforms. Thus in 1953 Greenland's colonial status was abolished, becoming a province with two elected representatives in Parliament. Also unique trading control with Denmark was abolished.

Yet by the 1970's, Greenlanders were agitating for greater local control. In 1975 a new commission, composed of seven Greendlanders and seven Danish M.P.s with the chair being held by a neutral professor of Danish law began there. The final report which was much the product of political horse-trading as legal points resulted in a Greenland referendum in January, 1979 and home rule in the May of the same year.

The reason for this review of Greenland is that an indigenous group whose bretheren are the Inuit of Canada but whose political and historical ties are with Scandinavia has essentially taken control of its own destiny.

Home rule was a negotiated agreement, rather than dictated and amendments will be based on joint agreement - unlike the present Indian Act. The Danes control defence, foreign relations and currency. All are negotiable. Denmark subsidizes programmes and in return demands certain generalities such as universal education and no discrimination.

All domestic functions are under Greenlandic control including education. Greenlandic will be the main language, although Danish must be taught in schools. Danish funding for schools and all other services is by a block subsidy grant calculated by reference to the existing cost of services.

Tied in with the question of education is the question of culture. The decision to be made is whether the culture should emphasize its historical Inuit roots or the hybrid Greenlandic culture with its European input. The question is still being debated. The ultimate decision will undoubtedly determine the character of the people of Greenland far into the future. But at least they and they alone have the right to make that decision.[13]

Conclusion

Denmark has shown a very enlightened approach to the question of Greenland. But it should be remembered first that much of that enlightenment was since 1945 which has been a period of considerable re-thinking on the question of indigenous minorities. Second, the Greenlanders lived on a relatively ice-covered island thousands of miles from the homogeneous populations of Denmark. One wonders if their approach wouldn't have been more like Finland's, Norway's, Sweden's or Canada had the Greenlanders happen to live in Denmark itself. As the Sami have pointed out, the human rights record of the Nordic countries is admirable except when it comes to their own backyard. More is required than just expressions of concern and commissions to review problems affecting the Sami. What Peter Jull says about Canadian attitudes is applicable to the majority populations of Norway, Sweden and Finland.

> It is unlikely that much progress can take place, in the North or elsewhere in Canada, as long as the Canadian European-descended majority regards the native people with condescension, fear or suspicion. Self-government implies equality of persons and collectivities, the removal of paternalism, and listening to the expression of values and aspirations of native peoples. The impatience with which many white northerners and southerners regard proposals which differ from their own inherited cultural bias is not helpful, and should not be the basis for any government policy.[34]

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COLONIALISTS - FRENCH TERRITORIES
NEW CALEDONIA, MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE

Introduction

New Caledonia

New Caledonia, located in the South Pacific is in proximity to New Zealand, Australia and New Guinea. The main island is New Caledonia proper and the actual territory is a combination between the main and five neighbouring islands. The island of New Caledonia is approximately 6,464 square miles with a surface structure composed of mountains and valleys.[1] New Caledonia's population in 1978 was estimated at approximately 144,000 inhabitants with an average of 8 persons per square kilometer. The small island of New Caledonia has a relatively stable economy and a world based per capital income of $4,650 (US). Gross National Product (at market price) in total was calculated at $700,000,000. (US).[2] New Caledonia enjoys a temperate southern climate.

Martinique

The island of Martinique is located in the Caribbean Sea, south east of Cuba and north west off the tip of Venezuela. Martinique's total population in 1978 was 325,000.[3] Martinique is a relatively small land mass measuring 1,102 square kilometers with a high population density calculated at 295 inhabitants per square kilometer.[4] The economy of Martinique is approximately $1,270,000 (GNP; Market Prices, US) with a per capita income of $3,950 (US) and a 5.7% GNP (Per capita) growth rate.[5] Its favourble tropical climate has created a thriving tourist industry.

Guadeloupe

Guadeloupe is in direct proximity to Martinique in the Caribbean Sea. The island is 1,779 square miles and is less populous (186 persons per square mile) compared to the neighbouring island of Martinique.[6] The GNP for Guadeloupe was calculated at $910,000,000. (US) in 1978.[7] The figure for Guadeloupe's 1978 GNP per capita was an estimated $2,850 with a 2.9% growth rate between 1970-77.[8] Guadeloupe also experiences a favourable climate and a growing tourist trade.

The Government System of French Territories

New Caledonia, Martinique, and Guadeloupe are ultimately subject of French legislation (Constitution of France, Title IX, Article 72-76). All three are recognized as French Overseas Departments and are therefore entitled to representation in the national Assembly (the number of representatives varies from island to island relative to their population). All citizens in the territory are eligible to vote if they are twenty-three and over and all citizens have the right to run for office. it is important to note that members of the Overseas Territories are entitled to the retention of their own personal status.[9] The territory's government (local) is bound to Metropolitan France hence they govern themselves in lieu of the same Constitutional premise:

> ...France is a Republic, indivisible secular, democratic and social. The Constitution institutes a community composed of the Republic and the people of overseas Territories who adopt it, and a chapter describes the community, its jurisdiction and institutions. Sovereignty belongs to the people.[10]
>
> ### Title XI on Territorial Units
>
> Art. 72 The territorial units of the Republic are the communes, the Departments, the Overseas Territories. Other territorial units may be created by law.

These units shall be free to govern themselves through elected councils and under the conditions stipulated by law.

In the departments and the territories, the Delegate of the Government shall be responsible for the national interests, for administrative supervision, and for seeing that the laws are respected.

Art. 73 Measures of adjustment required by the particular situation of the Overseas Departments may be taken with regard to their legislative system and administrative organization.

Art. 74 The Overseas Territories of the Republic shall have a special organization which takes into account their own interests within the general interests of the Republic. This organization shall be defined and modified by law, after consultation with the Territorial Assembly concerned.

Art. 75 Citizens of the Republic who do not have ordinary civil status, the only status referred to in Article 34, may keep their personal status as long as they have not renounced it.

Art. 76 The Overseas Territories may retain their status within the Republic.

If they express the desire to do so by a decision of their Territorial Assemblies taken within the time limit set in the first paragraph of Article 91, they shall become Overseas Departments of the Republic or member States of the Community, either in groups or as single units.

The system of Government is based on the following structure.

A) The President who is elected for a seven year term....by direct universal suffrage.[11] He selects the Premier, who in turn directs the implementation of legislation by the Government. (The Government system is the determining and directive entity within the French Nation.)

B) The combination of the Senate and the National Assembly form France's Parliament. The members are elected by a direct and indirect electorate. The Senate is responsible for French living outside of France and the Overseas Territories. The National French government recognizes each

> territory's right to self-govern (within legislative limits prescribed by France). Finally, Territorial Assembly members voted into the council by the Territory's constituents determine budgets and assess the revenues for their respective areas, as well as act as representatives within the National Assembly. In this way, the Territory's constituents and the National government attempt to perpetuate a unifying clause in the French Constitution Act I. The Republic and the peoples of the Overseas Territories who, by an act of free determination, adopt the present Constitution thereby institute a community. The Community shall be based on the equality and the solidarity of peoples composing it.[2]

The Indian History of Martinique and Guadeloupe

Both Martinique and Guadeloupe were originally inhabited by Arawak Indians or Arouague Indians from around the time of Christ to approximately 800 A.D. These Indians came from what is now Venezuela in South America.[13]

The Arawaks are described as having been a peaceful people. Unlike the Aztecs and the Caribs who eventually forced them off the island, they did not have human sacrifice as a part of their religion. Instead they possessed personal guardian spirits of the chief who were also the gods of the tribe. In addition these spirits were presented by a hierarchy of idols, called "zemis" which were considered to have supernatural powers. The zemis were housed in temples and brought out at times of worship and ceremony.[14]

The Carib Indians who drove the Arawakas out were considered to be more warlike, although they also came from the northern coast of South America. The movement of the Caribs brought new technology, although none was the equal of the Aztec or Incan civilizations.

A generalization would describe the Indian social system as divided into four classes. The first was the rulers. Then there was a class of nobles including the lesser chiefs or rulers of villages or territories within the chiefdom, religious functionnaries, warriors and artisans. The third class was the largest which was the commoners, the farming class. Finally there were the slaves.

The rulers had great power, often being considered semi-divine and having power of life and death over their subjects. Chieftanship was rarely hereditary. There was also considerable movement between the nobles and commoners since there was no great gap between the two. The slaves were usually captives and not used as labourers but rather as sacrifice on the part of the males and concubines for the women.[15]

Columbus to the Present

Columbus came upon Guadeloupe in 1493 and Martinique in 1502. Three attempts at settling Guadeloupe failed because of the ferocity of the Carib Indians and it was not until 1635, or over 140 years later that the Europeans finally installed themselves permanently on the island. The same year settlers came to Martinique. In 1664 Martinique became a property of France and in 1674 Guadeloupe was given to Louis XIV of France.

For the next two hundred and fifty years there were successive waves of immigrations to both islands. First French from Europe, then African slaves to work the plantations, then Hindus to replace the blacks, then traders from the Middle East, Chinese from Asia and Dutch from Brazil. Today government pamphlets identify the sources of the population but not its present ethnic breakdown.[16]

What of the Arawak and Carib Indians. It is possible they are extinct, however, it seems unlikely. What is more probable, is that there has been considerable intermarriage with the creation of groups similar to the Metis of Canada and who represent a tiny fraction of a small population. It is also probable, that like their brothers elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere they are more likely to live in rural areas rather than in the towns and cities. If these assumptions are correct how does the education system relate to their ancestry?

History New Caledonia

The history of New Caledonia as far as it concerns the interaction of the indigenous population and Europeans is considerably shorter, if not less violent than that of the Caribbean islands. In 1774, Captain Cook on one of his trips in the Pacific saw the island, thought it reminded him of Scotland and as a result named it New Caledonia.

At that time the native population, whose Melanesian ancestors had emigrated from southeast Asia, the Kanaks were composed of tribes which were divided into clans, the latter being the more important. The tribes were dispersed into their own communities with their own language and government. The chief of the tribe was the primary leader who was elected by the members of the tribe and checked by custom and a council of elders. Totems were used to symbolize the strength and unity of the clan and were passed on from generation to generation.

In 1853, the French took control of the island, at least in part to punish the Kanakos Melanesians because they had slain a number of French soldiers in 1850. In 1860 the island officially became a separate French colony. It served as a French penal colony from 1864 to 1899.

The indigenous population revolted against the French in the Kanak Revolt of 1878-79. Their grievances were that their land had been expropriated and given to non-Natives; that they were required to do mandatory labour for others; that their burial grounds were constantly being ravaged; that they were abused by government functionnaires; that settlers' cattle was destroying their crops and vegetation; and that their needs and welfare were not being provided. The revolt was short, their leader died and no improvements were forthcoming.

However prior to World War I, the French government agreed that the Kanakas were a dying tribe because of disease, war and alcholism which was in turn a product of neglect by the French government which had undermined the Chiefs' authority and destroyed their traditional society.

Notwithstanding, this recognition, the indigenous people revolted again in 1917 while France was preoccupied with the war in Europe. However again the revolt failed. It was not until 1951, under a Territorial Statute that the Melanesians were allowed to vote and fulfill their rights. The French also admitted they had failed to educate the Kanakas.[17]

Unlike the native populations of the Caribbean island which became absorbed, there were 55,558 Melanesians in New Caledonia in 1979, representing 41.7% of the population. Furthermore, as late as 1969, 87% of them were isolated on reserve lands.[18]

Education

The history of New Caledonian education is assumed to be more or less applicable for Guadeloupe and Martinique for the period concerned.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Marist Fathers came from France and established mission schools for all but the interior of the island. Their intention was to convert the Melanesians to Christianity. Later in the early twentieth century French public schools were built in non-missionary areas, although they were intended to serve primarily the white population. This evidenced by the figures below.

TABLE I

	Europeans			Melanesians		
YEAR	MISSION	STATE	TOTAL	MISSION	STATE	TOTAL
1928	596	1,726	2,317	2,169	580	2,749
1932	603	1,954	2,557	2,348	832	3,180
1937	740	2,156	2,896	2,694	1,058	3,752

Source: James Cooke, New French Imperialism: 1880-1960, (Hamden: Archon Books, 1973)

As the figures indicate, it was the church that undertook to educate the native population rather than the state. Furthermore the church was divided into the Catholic which emphasized religious instruction and the Protestant which emphasized more practical instruction.

After primary instruction, those of the native population who went on would most likely go to France. For many years the theory was that those indigenous people who came from the empire's far flung colonies to obtain higher education in France, would also gain an appreciation of French culture and thereby accept the status quo.

> To assure that the natives remained loyal to France they would be trained in the metropolitan country. Not acting out any assimilation or humanitarian impulses the annexationists theorized that the main purpose of the school (ecole coloniale) was a pragmatic one of keeping the empire free from rebellion from the top down.[19]

In the long run the theory backfired as educated indigenous colonial leaders returned with a new appreciation of concepts of liberty and equality and realized the inequity and inconsistency that existed in their homelands. Ultimately this led to demands for independence and equality.

In March, 1946 Guadeloupe and Martinique were granted representation in French National Assembly with 3 deputies each and two senators each in the Senate. New Caledonia has one deputy and one senator and also a representative on the Economic and Social Council as do the other islands.

Today in the islands school enrollment - where attendance is compulsory from the ages of 6 - 16, was 95% in Guadeloupe, 98% in Martinique and the figure for New Caledonia is assumed to be approximately the same.[20] These figures are much higher is the statistical parameters of UNESCO are used. Pupil/teacher ratios are approximately 24 to 1 in the Caribbean and 21 to 1 in the Pacific. Illiteracy in Guadeloupe was 17.1% and 11.8% in Martinique for those 15 and over in 1967 while is was 9.7% in New Caledonia in 1976.[21]

Conclusion

According to the World Bank, the islands studied here are classified in the second richest group of countries in the world, that is $2,000 to $4,999 per capita income.[22] It is probably fair to say that a substantial proportion of this wealth is associated with the close association of the islands with France. This must put local leaders in an ambivalent position with regards to France. A study done in the French Antilles among leaders showed the following results.

TABLE II

Leaders	%Who Wanted: Autonomy	Major Adaptations	Minor Adaptations or Status Quo
University	21	45	34
Secondary School	9	27	64
Primary School	50	50	0

Source: Arvin March, Black Frenchmen: The Political Internation of the French Antilles, (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman, 1971)

The French antilles include Martinique and Guadeloupe. The statistics showed that those who were latent nationalists were non-white, middle-aged, not wealthy, had university or primary education, were leaders of mass based organizations. Yet of the six political parties in Martinique and Guadeloupe only 1 stresses political autonomy, the PPM, le Parti Progressivistes Martinique which emphasizes African culture and heritage. Neither of the two parties in New Caledonia emphasize political autonomy but do emphasize greater involvement of the native people.

From the political point of view the future is unclear. As for education the French government between 1971-75 reasserted its commitment to increase educational opportunites for the local people. It seems that the future of the Melanesians is positive, especially with the new socialist government in France. As for the Arawaks and Caribs of the Caribbean, there appears to be a danger that they will become a footnote in history as the other cultural groups, more strongly developed and identified, assert their heritage.

As this work was in its final stages of completion, articles in the Globe and Mail related of increased friction, even violence between the local white people and the native people on New Caledonia. Obviously, the demands for a better deal by the Melanesians are not going to go unchallenged by those in power.

Endnotes

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[17] James Cooke, New French Imperialism: 1880-1960 (Hamden: ARchon, 1973) p.290-310

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POST-COLONIALIST - PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Introduction

Papua New Guinea is situated in the South Pacific, northeast of the Australian continent. In 1977 there was an estimated 2,905,000 people. Of this number all but 37,000 were indigenous to the island. The population is spread out over a number of major islands covering 183,500 square miles with a population density in 1971 of 13.6 people per square miles.[1] In 1977 the per capita income of the country was $510 (US).[2]

Papua New Guinea was a British Colony from 1888 to 1906.[3] From 1906 to 1946 it was an Australian protectorate. In 1946, under the aegis of the United Nations it became an extra territorial administration of the Australian government. In 1973, it was granted self-government and in 19756 it became a fully independent nation under Prime Minister Macheal Somare.[4]

Population

Because of better health services, and continuing high birth rates, the population is increasing at 3 percent a year. The total population has grown by over half a million people in the last 10 years - about 80,000 people are now added to the population each year. At this rate the population will double in less than 25 years, increasing the pressure of people on good land which is already being felt in many parts of the country.

The rapid growth of the population means that nearly 40,000 people are added to the workforce each year. There are two main ways for Papua New Guinea to participate in the cash economy

- they can produce cash crops and other goods for sale while remaining in their villages.
- they can move to towns or plantations to look for wage employment.

Although there has been rapid urbanization, 4 out 5 members of the workforce still remain in rural areas. Most of these earn some cash incomes, the bulk of which is used to buy goods supplied from urban production or from imports.

Rural incomes have risen slowly in recent years, but he average rural cash income per head is still many times smaller than the urban minimum wage. Rural cash incomes vary considerably between different areas - differences are closely related to the quality of transport links to major towns. Inequalities are also emerging at the village level. Business leaders in villages are often associated with local and national political leaders and therefore tend to have the best access to extension services and finance.

Towns have grown rapidly; recent migration should be interpreted as a reflection of people's perception of the relative advantages of town life over their villages. There has been little out-migration from areas with good income earning opportunities, but in areas where opportunites are very limited (ie. parts of Western, Gulf, and Chimbu Provinces) the outflow of people is very high. Migration to towns has resulted in an increase in the proportion of the urban workforce not in wage employment.

Urban wages have more than doubled in real terms over the last five years at a time when the rate of migration is already in excess of the rate of growth of wage employment. Decisions to further improve urban conditions will increase the incentive to migrate. On the other hand government actions to improve rural conditions will help to keep migration more in line with the growth of urban opportunities.[5]

Economic Development

Papua New Guinea can be divided into a tribal subsistence economy and the cash economy. Although much of the country is still at a subsistency level, the cash economy is growing. The cash economy can be divided into:

> (1) The government sector, relying heavily on Australian aid, this sector has grown into an expensive and dominant sector of the economy. The standard of services provided by the Government varies considerably over the nation.
>
> (2) Plantations: these provided the first entry to the modern economy for many villagers, but their relative importance has decreased as smallholder agriculture and other sectors have expanded.
>
> (3) Smallholder agriculture: now provides income earning opportunities to the majority of the workforce. Opportunities are very unevenly spread through the nation and incomes are very vulnerable to changes in export prices.
>
> (4) Major natural resources based projects such as the Bougainville Copper project are important sources of revenue but offer very few direct income earning opportunities to Papua New Guinea.
>
> (5) Other manufacturing and service inductries have grown in response to increasing demand from government spending and the increasing purchasing power of wage earners and small holders. These sectors continue to be dominated by foreign ownership and management.[6]

Culture

Although the country's economy is rapidly modernizing, there are still considerable traditional lifestyles. Few tribes of the islands were nomadic. Instead on the coast fishing and gardening were the primary economic pursuits while in the highlands hunting, pig-breeding and trade are most important.

Generally, life is centered around the village. Each man has a house in his garden and possibly other houses for his wives and his sons. There is rectangular-shaped park where meetings and dances take place. There is also a men's longhouse in the village or group of villages which is a club and ritual centre. Boys are initiated into the men's secret cult which allows them the right to enter those places where the secret symbol of the spirits and ancestors are kept as well as to take part in the secret rituals. Thesereligious practices do not appear to have any overall cosmological or religious system.

Social organization consists of lineage and class systems; there is in some areas classificatory kinship. In the more densely populated highlands there are phratries and subclans. There is no chieftanship, but leaders are men of "big name", of personal influence and in some instances of wealth.[7]

Education

There are over 650 languages in New Guinea. Most of the languages have only a few hundred to a few thousand speakers each. The largest language, Enga, has over 130,000 speakers.[8] Partly as a result of this diversity and partly as a result of history English is the lingua franca in the country and that used in the schools.

History

German missionaries were the first educationists. However in the early 1920's,
the white administration attempted to establish a system of schools near Rabqul consisting of an elementary school, a technical school and a school of domestic economy. This was to be a nucleus from which further schools were to expand.

The school of domestic economy which was designed to create household servants was quickly abandoned. Technical education concentrated on carpentry and plumbing. The elementary school had little success. By the late 1920's the whole system was virtually abandoned.

The failure was partly due to lack of interest on the part of the administration, but also the education provided had little relevance to the indigenous peoples daily lives and further it was taught in English. The missionaries were too religious in their orientation and led to problems later.

The missionaries had established 1,288 schools with 36,816 pupils by 1928, but the substance of their educational efforts was substandard. However, the administration had had even less success in its attempts at education and therefore until more meaningful alternatives were provided, it agreed to subsidize the mission schools.

After World War II international pressure was brought to bear upon the Australian government to improve education in PNG in order that independence could be eventually granted. In response, a Department of Education was established in 1946 and the administration assumed responsibility for most aspects of education. The Educational system expanded rapidly. Nonetheless missionaries still played an important function in the education system. In 1963 there were 229,000 children being educated of which 181,000 attended mission schools - 70,000 of them in mission schools of such poor quality that they did not receive any financial aid from the administration.

Emphasis was placed on elementary education. In 1965 there were 9,641 secondary school students and 244,j056 primary school students. Yet, even them, it was estimated 80% of the population was illiterate and only 35% of the children eligible were attending school. In 1969 the figure had risen to 50%.

The administration decided a university was needed and so the University of Papua and New Guinea was opened in Port Moresby in

1966. That year there were only 100 qualified students. The university produced its first graduates in 1970.

Present Education

Universal primary education remains one of the major goals of the Government. Most primary school leavers will spend most of their lives in villages and not wage employment. Therefore the education system is designed to provide the skills appropriate to life in a rural community. Consequently efforts are being made to change the orientation of the primary curriculum towards rural skills, but there is also a need to develop links between school leavers and village communities. Emphasis is being put on vocational training and linked to extension service.

Secondary and higher level education will be determined by manpower requirements. Career structure in the public service and course enrollment are to ensure that skilled personnel are encouraged to train for and work in rural areas.[9]

A government document describes the country's education services,

> Educational services have been expanded very rapidly over the last 20 years. More than half of primary school age children go to school, while the expansion of higher education is leading to rapid localization of higher level modern sector employment. The prospects of school leavers have changed considerably; the entry standards demanded by employers have risen with the expansion of higher education. The better qualified have a better chance of employment, so the better educated have dominated rural-urban migration in the last few years. While primary education no longer guarantees a job, there is no chance of good job without it is so there is a continuing popular demand for education at all levels.[10]

Community-Based Education

Along with independence came the concept of community-based education. The aims of community based education were:

(a) The new nation demanded a basic education which prepared young people for their lives of tomorrow in the rural area of the country. This basic education, up to grade six, was to be suitable for the child whose formal education would end at this stage.

(b) Basic education had to prepare properly those students who would go on to high school and perhaps to tertiary education.

(c) Basic education would encourage young people to find, and to make, employment opportunities in their own communities, whether rural or urban, as alternatives to secondary education and to more orthodox wage employment.

(d) The new philosophy, which is now being introduced, assumed a basic education which was community-based, ie, where each school particularly appropriate to its own setting, with the syllabus interpreted and handled with the community clearly in mind. Community members would be actively involved in the life of the school, in certain curriculum areas, on a regular basis, with the school participating in and studying the economic life on the community, including development projects.

(e) Learning experiences had to be related closely to what was familiar in the pupils' own lives and community. The integration, relevance and involvement of the school in the village, and the village in the school, would help to hold the school-leaver to the community; so it was argued.

(f) A successful community school would be one that was seen as a community development project itself; therefore it would receive active support from parents and the community at large.

Needs of community-based education with aims such as those stated, certain imperatives became apparent.

(a) Community-based education, though oriented towards the life of the community, must still maintain its credibility regarding standards in the eyes of post primary institutions, the employers and the general public.

> (b) The new education required teachers who were prepared professionally to carry out the new role in a new style of teaching. This new role was to emerge from a new syllabus, a broadening scope of the schools' activities, and a lively and child-centered approach. Therefore, first level teachers colleges were built to ensure that they were equipping teachers with the professional attitudes and skills that would be needed. In addition, teachers would be given an opportunity of gaining field experience on community development projects.
>
> (c) There was an urgent need to make available core syllabuses and guidelines for local interpretation and adaption, as well as to assist with local curriculum developments. Teachers' colleges and in-service courses would need to be informed of intended curriculum changes.
>
> (d) Many of the primary inspectors in the system would need to be re-trained to the new goals of community-based education., Those entering the system would need the new approach.[11]

The following are excerpts from the summary of the Papua New Guinea Education Plan 1976-1980.[12]

Primary Education

In primary education emphasis is on the introduction and rapid expansion of a type of schooling that will be closely related to the communities in which the schools are situated. This means a community based primary education system. There are no simple definitions. A community based school may be defined as one where teachers, (1) structure their lessons around the activities of the community and development activities and projects in their area, (2) involve members of the community in the life of the school. Selection within each school will be based on performance in a national examination and internal assessment.

So that opportunities in primary education can be spread fairly, the age of entry to the primary/community school will remain at 7 years and the length of primary/community schooling will remain as it is at present, six years. The teacher/student ratio will increase gradually from the present 1:31.4 to 1:33.6 in 1980 and 1:35 in 1985.

Primary/community education will expand rapidly. Total enrollment will increase from 229,527 in 1974 to 342,743 in 1980 and to 492,485 in 1985. Such an expansion of primary education will double the cost over the next ten years at today's money values. In 1975 67.8% of seven year olds entered Grade 1.

There will be an increase in the proportion of school-age children commencing school, which will rise to 82% (of 7 year olds) in 1980 and to 92% in 1985. Such rapid expansion will reduce differences between provinces to an important level by 1980. During the plan period consideration can be given to even further expansion of schooling if resources and finances are available.

Secondary Education

Provision for secondary education will expand during the plan period. High school expansion has been so rapid that the system is already turning out unemployed grade 8 school leavers and, according to manpower projection, from 1976 there will be surplus of underemployed grade 10 leavers. Man power considerations suggest no expansion for the secondary system at all. However, the social demand for new high schools is so strong (reinforced by official promises) that it is not feasible to stop high school expansion. The need for 34 new high schools has been recognized in principle. The distribution of high schools placed between provinces. This will mean that whereas in 1974 10,189 students from grade 6 were enrolled in grade 7 (from I) in 1975, in 1980 13,320 from the 1979 expanded grade 6 will be enrolled in grade 7. This is an increase in both the numbers and percentage of the age group entering the first year of secondary education. Enrollments in the less privileged provinces will be expanded so that by 1980 they will be closer to national average. Such rapid expansion may cause problems with unplaced grade 10 leavers. This will need to be reviewed during the plan period.

High schools will be known as provincial high schools and will continue to offer a 4 year course. Forms 1-4 will be known as grade 7-10. Teacher/student rations will level at 1:25.

High schools will be encouraged to establish close relationships with the communities around them. The curriculum should meet the needs of the student who will be proceeding to higher education and/or employment as will as those who will return to their communities. Due to the high costs of secondary education, local communities will be encouraged to contribute to the costs. To cater for children who want further education but who cannot get into high school, the 3 year community secondary education correspondence course will be expanded to the extent that there is a demand. Senior high schools will be known as national high schools. Total enrollments should increase from 836 (1975) to 1600 (1980) with the opening of Aiyura (1976) and Pssam (1977). Teacher/student ratios will increase from an official 1:15 to 1:18 from 1976. Forms 5 and 6 will be known as grades 11 and 12. Technical Colleges will phase out all students doing general secondary courses by 1979. Their places will be taken by grade 10 students doing specialist technical courses. Over the plan period, the number of students in specialized technical education course is expected to increase from 1400 to 4500. The need for persons with specific technical skills and the numbers required will determine the direction of courses in colleges over the next decade. By the mid-plan review pont (1977) such needs should be more apparent. Vocational centers will continue to provide useful skills relevant to community needs. Eligibility for enrollment will be widened to include anyone whom a community feels has the potential for self-improvement. Enrollments levels will be held at 5000 during the plan period, unless there is a demand for expansion, as there seems to be the extent of social demand. No new skulanka will be opened and existing skulanka will probably be phased out (although the plan assumes a student level of 500 throughout).

Language Policy

English will be the language of instruction in all institutions except vocational centres where other languages may be used. Other languages may be studied as elective subjects provided that suitable syllabi, materials and teachers are available, and that official approval is obtained and all resources with cultural and/or community involvement activities.

Teacher Education and Supply

The number of primary/community teachers' colleges will remain at 10 (including Sonoma) for the plan period. Pre-service courses will continue to be of 2 years duration but grade 10 level will become the minimum entry requirement from 1977. Student/teacher ratios in colleges will increase from 1:12.5 to 1:15 effective from 1977.

College enrollments will increase within existing capacity levels until 1980; in 1980 and 1981 new buildings will permit increases of 400 and 500 respectively. A 50% expansion of enrollments will be needed for the planned expansion of grade 1 enrollments already mentioned. Enrollment (including in-service) will rise from 2135 in 1975 to 3500 in 1985.

The wastage rate amongst teachers is a key factor in educational planning. The wastage rate for primary teachers (all national) is assumed to be steady at 5%; for national secondary teachers it is assumed to be steady at 10% and for overseas secondary teachers a rate of 20% is assumed. Teacher retention rates will be affected by many factors including social conditions such as the provision of adequate housing and law and order. To the extent that the Government is unable to take effective steps to guarantee safety of life and property the education effort in less advantageous districts which generally have the greatest law and order problems, will be frustrated.

Secondary teacher education will remain a university responsibility. It is anticipated that places for 3 year diplomates and 1 year agricultural and technical teachers will increase from 431 in 1975 to 610 in 1980. B.Ed. (preservice) graduates taking up teaching posts should increase from 10 in 1975 to 30 in 1980. A detailed analysis of secondary and technical teacher needs will be undertaken so that the balance of graduate and sub-graduate teachers and the numbers of teachers with particular subject specialities can be planned. Recruitment of overseas teachers will continue to 1980 and beyond (though requirements will steadily decrease). National high schools and Teacher's Colleges will be staffed as far as possible by graduates.

Statistics

In 1976, the country's current expenditure in education was 80,426,000 Kina, of which K65,673,000 was for teachers. Total expenditure for the same year was K89,320,000 which represented 8.8% of the GNP or .8% higher than Canada in relative terms.

In 1971 it was estimated that of the population 25 years and older 85.7% had never had any schooling. For those children who did attend school, the pupil teacher ratio in 1976 was 31 to 1. Perhaps the most significant figure is that in 1976 for those 6-13, the enrollment ratio was 58%. The statistics in Appendix I indicate this is the lowest figure of any of the countries in this study.[13]

Furthermore, one comment on Papua New Guinea statistics was,

> these figures rely on unconfirmed assumptions, hazy concepts and shifting policy mixed with hard qualificable fact.[14]

An Assessment

The above figures and the previously mentioned plans and programs of the government provide one part of the whole. Trish Baneham taught as a Canadian University Services Overseas volunteer in Papua New Guinea. She stated that schooling was not compulsory; that only 40% of the population make it to grade 6, that of those who finish primary 6, only half go on to secondary school which is grade 7 and 8. At the end of grade 8 the students are assessed and 40% are forced to leave. Those who leave are more often than not ostracized from their original community for various reasons be their shame, failure or insolence.

At the end of grade 10 which is the end of high school, there is a nation-wide exam which is highly competitive. Those who pass are allowed to enter one of the four national high schools. There is a total of approximately 1000 students for the grades 11 and 12, 250 per school. This group is the elite who are groomed for higher education, university and technical schools.

Ms Baneham noted that even in remote communities there is equal opportunity. However there is considerable vandalism in the schools by those who failed to continue through the system. As well, girls don't usually continue. Another problem is the high turnover of qualified teachers and a decline in standards of education as expatriots leave while the curriculum remains very structured. Finally while English is the language of instruction, there are no English texts, as well emphasis is still placed too greatly on nutritional education.

Conclusion

Papua New Guinea has one half the world's languages and a wide diversity of cultures. It has only recently gained independence. In order to maintain independence, education is seen as the means by which a society will emerge in which the indigenous people will be able to manage their social and economic affairs. Such is the objective of Indian control of Indian education of Canada's first people.

Yet for the Papua New Guineans, the demands are greater and the needs more immediate. Programs such as universal primary education, community education, secondary schools extension project may be flawed but at least the people themselves are accepting westernized education as a means to an end rather than having it imposed upon them for the great glory of an alien culture.

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OTHER INDIGENOUS GROUPS

SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

Located in the southern most part of the continent of Africa is the Republic of South Africa. It is composed of four Provinces, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. With a latitudinal span of 13° (22°s to 35°s) and a longitudinal range reaching from 17°E to 33°E, it borders on the South Atlantic and the southern Indian Oceans. South Africa had an estimated population of 27,700,000 in 1978, with a general area of 1,277,037 square kilometers, and a recorded population density of 23 persons per square kilometer[2]. South Africa's interior experiences a relatively dry climate while the coastal area often reaches a high of 90% humidity. The interior's dryer climate may result from the large mountainous range separating the coast and interior regions of South Africa.

The Europeans first noted South Africa's existence between the years 1460 and 1524 by a Portuguese explorer who was first to sail the route from the Cape of Good Hope to India.[3] Although the Portuguese were aware of the country's existence it appeared worthless and therefore the land remained unsettled. It wasn't until 1652 that any European attempted to land on South African shores. At this time a Dutch sailor named Jan Van Riebeck was ordered to set a post on the coast in order to provide Dutch East Indian Company's fleets with various supplies, as well as medical aide. The Company had no intention of settling or exploiting the land, but Riebeck began to encourage retired sailors that South Africa would be an ideal area in which to cultivate and settle. By the 18th century, the small Dutch population had began its move towards the interior of South Africa. The settlers now assumed the South Africa territory as their home. They called themselves Africans and assumed a dialect derived from 17th century Dutch. The British arrived at the Cape of Good Hope 1795 and claimed the Colony under the Crown.

Political System

The Republic is governed in a manner similar to that of the British Parliamentary system. The change from a Union to a Republic resulted in a change from a Governor to a State-President. South Africa's change in political title was aimed in unifying the British and Africans in the South African region.

Presently, South Africa's political system is led by the State President. Members of the Senate and the House of Assembly elect a President; the president in turn serves a seven year term. The President is recognized as the Chief Commander of the South Africa Military and is responsible in appointing various administrative officials as well as the control and administration of Bantu affairs and of matters affecting Asiatics.

The State President may act out his executive powers upon the advice given to him by the Executive Council. The Senate and House of Assembly also serve an important role in the political set up. In combination with the President, they make up South Africa's Parliament. Eight Senators are elected (2 from each province) by the House of Assembly and by provinical counsellors. The senators join with the 150 House members (elected by persons in their constituencies) as representatives of the four provinces. The Senators and House members discuss legislation, argue as well as approve various bills proposed to Parliament. The House members have final say in the passing of financial bills. Provincial legislation is broken down further by the election of a Prime Minister (by constituents) who acts as an advisor to the President and by the election of Provincial council members (by House members) who also advise the House and the President on local issues. The Prime Minister is chosen by members of the majority party (National Party) who then submit his name to the State President. The State President considers the nomination and then appoints him the Prime Minister.

The present Prime Minister of South Africa is Mr. Botha. Mr. Botha leads the National party. The Party's view of the present republican legislature is stated as follows:

> While the Party thus declares itself in favor of the attainment of this form of state, it recognizes at the same time, however, that a republic can be established only on a broad basis of the national will, and with the faithful observance of the equal language and cultural rights of the two section of the white population.

Their basic legislative organization is demonstrated in the following figure:

Figure I

The Four South African Provinces

Cape of Good Hope   Natal   Transvaal   Orange Free State

Controlled By - Based on Central Government Approval

Local Administration   Central Government

Provincial Executive

Source: South Africa 1980/81, (Johannesburg: Chris Van Renburg Pub., 1980)

South Africa's economy, on a general basis is calculated to be extremely high. In 1978, the GNP was estimated at $40,840,000 (US) with a per capita income of $4,800. Their GNP per capita growth rate between 1970 and 1977 was 1.1%.[5] The large gold and diamond deposits account for most of the nation's wealth and for this reason the country, on a whole, ranks high among the wealthier countries in the world.

Apartheid

The element which sets South Africa apart from the rest of the states of the world, that has made it one of, if not the greatest, pariah in the world today in its institutionalized officially recognized racism, otherwise known as apartheid. When the Dutch first landed on the Cape, in the mid-seventeenth century they were the first real inhabitants of that land. As the generations came and went the Afrikanaar or Boer (farmer) viewed himself as an African not a European although retaining a European culture. As the colony expanded northward, it was inevitable they would confront the southern drift of the black people. The first confrontation was in 1770 at the Great Fish River when a clash between the Afrikaaner and the Xhosa of the Nguni nation took place. Over the next century, nine wars came to pass.

The inexorable expansion of the white community eventually meant that a large black population existed in tandem with it. Imported slave-labour and indentured labour from Asia added to the racial mix.

The black people had their own laws, government and customs prior to the arrival. However as the white man came to dominate the jurisdicational spheres of power the blacks were severely limited or wiped out. The mid-nineteenth century saw the beginnings of the development of black political organizations, usually started by those who had had Christian missionary education. At that time they objected to racialist policies then being instituted. At the turn of the century the South African Native Congress was formed in response to disappointment at not having complete black enfranchisement. The modern African National Congress which is banned is a direct descendent of that movement.

The watershed legislation on apartheid was the Black Representation Act of 1936 which removed Blacks from the common voters' roll where they had been registered since 1853. Another act of that year, the Native Trust and Land Act which permitted the purchase of land, "to be held in trust for the blacks, and to provide more living space for the growing black population."

In 1948 the National Party which was the party of the Afrikaaners more than English South Africans was elected. One of its main policy positions is "the maintenance of a united White South Africa" or apartheid. The passage of the Suppression of Communism Act (Internal Security Act) in 1950, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1953, the Public Safety Act of 1953, the Riotous Assemblies (Amendment) Act of 1956, the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960, and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968 were all designed to suppress any political activism on the part of the Black or coloured peoples and by extension reinforce the policy of apartheid.

The government's position can best be summarized as follows:

> In the light of the country's multi-national and historical realities, the majority of Whites are convinced that relations between the White nation of the RSA (Republic of South Africa) and the various Black peoples within the borders of present day South Africa cannot be satisfactorily regulated in a single integrated superstate, but rather on the historically tried basis of separate nation-states...[6]

Essentially the government is saying South Africa, the state will remain and Blacks will be given token lands in order to create pseudo-autonomous states linked economically to its white mother.

The Table following indicates the present population division and suggests the practical unreality of the present government position.

TABLE I*

Year 1977	Population ('000')	Percentage of Racial Composition
Asians	746	2.8
Blacks	16,959	71.5
Coloureds	2,432	9.2
Whites	4,365	16.5
TOTAL	24,512	100

*It excludes the estimated de facto population of the Republic of Transkei.

*Source: South Africa 1980/81, (Johannesburg: Chris Van REngurg Ltd., 1980) p.23

Education

The education of races other than Whites was left primarily to missionary societies and churches until well into the 20th century. However the State provided increasing financial and other aid and supervision. First the colonies and the republics and, after union in 1910, the provinces assumed greater direct control of the education of all population groups. Today education for Whites is controlled by the Ministry of National Education; for Blacks by the Ministry of Education and Training; for Coloureds by the Ministry of Coloured Relations, and for Indians by the Ministry of Indian Affairs.[7]

Primary Education

Black children take a seven-year primary school course divided into two stages: the lower primary school, comprising substandards A and B and standards 1 and 2 while the higher primary school is composed of standards 3-5. The age of admission was 6 and 1/2 years in 1980. It will be six year olds from 1981. Where possible, the two stages are conducted in separate school buildings.

Primary schools are staffed by Black teachers. Where separate lower primary schools exist they are run by women principals.

In the schools of the Department the medium of instruction for the first four years (up to and including Standard 2) is one of the following languages: Xhosa, Zulz, Tswana, North Sotho, South Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga or Venda. These languages are viable and established tools of communication with their own grammars, textbooks and literatures. Two of these languages, Zulu and Xhosa, are spoken by more than four million people.

This can be said only of three other indigenous languages in sub-Saharan Africa. All these languages are also school subjects and are studied through to university level.

English and Afrikaans, the two official languages, are also compulsory school subjects at primary school and are given emphasis because of their importance as general communication media, and as prerequisites in the field of employment. According to the new Education and Training Act one of the official languages, usually English, may be used as the medium of instruction for the Black pupil from Standard 4, subject to the wishes of the parents. At the end of the primary school course (Standard 5) pupils write the external Higher Primary Certificate examination which qualifies them to proceed to some form or other of secondary education.

Secondary Education

Black students undertake a three year junior secondary course, leading to the external Standard 8 examination, followed by a further two year course leading to Senior Certificate/matriculation (Standard 10). Throughout the secondary school the medium of instruction is usually English; education departments of the Black States also use English almost exclusively.

Post-Secondary Education

There are three universities for Blacks in which 147 of the academic staff are black. There is also correspondence courses for students through UNISA. Total Black university population was 13,116 in 1978. Black students may apply to white universities where specific courses are not provided at a Black university. These courses include engineering, dentistry and actuarial studies. The Black universities are also responsible for teacher education for secondary schools.

Other Education Facilities

In addition to the above-mentioned system, there are two technical colleges, four technical secondary schools and eight technical training centres.

There are 10 special schools for handicapped children with an enrollment of 1,450. Special syllabuses have been drawn up for the schools for the deaf. The schools are intended to prepare the students for employment through practical training.

Finally there are 68 centres for adult education and most of them are local primary schools as their locus. There are 23,608 adults in one programme alone designed to improve their qualifications. There also strong attempts to wipe out illiteracy. [8]

Comparative Education Programs

Although the previous description of education for Blacks in South Africa follows the white model, there are crucial differences. The data comes from the 1970 census.

TABLE II

1970 Census	Whites	Blacks
Percentage of total population	17.7	70%
1969 Students in Universities	68,549	3,911
Percentage of persons engaged in professional, technical and managerial occupations	18.5%	1.7%
Percentage of persons with school leaving or matriculation certificate	18.9%	0.1%
Compulsory School Attendance	YES	NO
Free High School	YES	NO
Free Textbooks High School	YES	NO
Per capita expenditure on education	$159.74	$18.90

Source: "Being Black in South Africa", Bulletin 204, (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1971)

Even though compulsory education for Blacks does not exist, 75% of children of school going age are at school. In 1966 there were 6,978 state-aided schools, of which 3,977 ran double sessions because of the number of students wishing to attend. The same year there were 30,267 teachers, of which only 637 had degrees, 4,826 had no professional training and 14,000 had limited primary training.[9]

The desire for education is there but its being frustrated by a government reluctant to give any opportunity to the majority population. And although the pupil/teacher ratio for Blacks has dropped from 60:1 to 48:1, it is no great change. In 1975, increased funding was allocated to education. On a per capita basis it was as follows:

TABLE III

Asian	- R 183.49
Black	- R 28.56
Coloured	- R 91.21
White	- R 483.75[10]

Source: Michael Little, Australian Economic Ties with South Africa (Melbourne: International Development Action, 1976)

In the short, the gap that exists between white and black in education as in all other field of endeavour in South African is as wide as ever. Nor does change look it imminent. A multi-racial special advisory committee recently recommended that apartheid in education should be abolished. The committee reported that discrimination in education is the most resented of all apartheid policies. It recommended that equal education for all, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex - all operating under a single ministry of education - be the government goal. The government rejected the recommendations.[11]

Conclusion

South Africa is composed of two fundamental groups, both classified as indigenous, the Boers and the Africans. Tragically, although both are indigenous, they are not equal. As elsewhere in the world, education and its product are attempting to change that situation.

In 1980 many black and coloured students died as a result of violence during a boycott of classes. The students were protesting against unequal opportunites in education and employment. Students were also at the vanguard of the Soweto riots that took place in the seventies.

Violence is frequently an expression of frustration. The fact that average expenditure on all education including that of blacks had risen 158 percent in five years does not alleviate that underlying sense of injustice.

The fact that over 70% of the population is not just discriminated against, but openly, legally and humiliatingly deprived of rights and opportunites the ruling minority have can not be assuaged by an increase in funds toward education.

The future looks bleak. Intransigence on the part of a large section of the white population and increasing militancy amongst a growing number of educated Blacks leads to the prediction that before a stable, egalitarian society exists on the southern tip of Africa there will be a great deal of bloodshed. Perhaps as a signal of this direction, South Africa increased its spending on defence by 40% this year - an action which does not augur well for the future.[12]

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CHINA - TIBET

Introduction

Tibet is now a part of China. Tibet is the highest land mass on Earth. Even its lower tablelands are perched three miles above the sea which equals the crests of Canada's Rockies.[1] Six million Tibetans are dispersed among these tablelands since even these rugged people are no match for nature at higher altitudes. China, its master, is the third largest country in the world with by far the largest population. In 1978, there were an estimated 933 million people or 97 people per square kilometer compared to Canada's two people per kilometer.[2]

History

Tibet's authentic history began with the reign of King Song-tsen Gampo in 629 AD. For 200 years after the King's reign Tibet was at war with China. In the latter part of the ninth century, Tibet controlled large segments of China. In the thirteenth century Tibet was overrun by Kublai Khan and his Mongolian armies. Over the next 600 years there arises the question of whether or not Tibet was a province of China or an independent state. Chinese troops were on occasion in Tibet but Tibetans claim they were asked to assist with no intention of undermining Tibetan independence. The International Commission of Jurists noted in its report, "Tibet and the Rule of Law", that when Great Britain and China agreed for the former to establish a mission in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, in 1876, Tibet did not recognize the accord and the mission was never established. For the Tibetans, this example indicates the independence of their state.

In 1903, the British Government of India invaded Tibet and defeated the Tibetan army. The British government forced Tibet to sign a convention to which China was not a party. Lord

Curzon, Viceroy of India stated, "Chinese superiority over Tibet is a constitutional fiction - a political affectation which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties."[3]

Nonetheless Great Britain signed a Convention with China in 1906 and a Convention with Russia in 1907 which recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. As a result, China invaded Tibet in 1910. This invasion was the first in which Chinese troops were not requested or wanted. By 1911, with the political upheavals in China itself the troops left. In order to leave no doubt about its political status, the thirteenth Dalai Lama proclaimed the independence of Tibet in 1912. Mongolia and Tibet recognized each other's independence in 1913.

The following year Britain and Tibet signed a convention which recognized China's nominal suzerainty over Tibet but that Tibet was also an independent territory and not a province of China, China refused to sign the convention.

The Tibetan government exercised its power throughout World War 11 and Tibetans travelled on Tibetan passports after the war. However in 1950 China invaded Tibet and a 17 point agreement was signed. Thr first point stated, "...the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland... the People's Republic of China."[4]

> From 1951 to 1959, the Chinese occupation forces proceeded to break the 'points' in the 17-Point Agreement as if it, like Tibet, had never existed. The Chinese begain to imprison thousands of Tibetans and to destroy hundreds of temples and monasteries, the focal point of Tibetan life. A Chinese Communist system of life was forced on the Tibetans that was unnatural, oppressive and foreign."[5]

In 1959, the Tibetans revolted and were crushed. The Dalai Lama and a hundred thousand of his followers fled the country.[6]

Obviously the Chinese government would vigorously deny much of the above history. It would cite its Constitution which in part states:

> Art. 3: The People's Republic of China is a single multinational state. all the nationalities are equal. Discrimination against, or oppresion of, any nationality, and acts which undermine the unity of the nationalities are prohibited.
>
> All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs or ways.
>
> Regional autonomy applies in areas where people of national minorities live in compact communities.
>
> National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.[7]

Its justifications for its action in both 1951 and 1959 are undoubtedly contained in the last sentence of the Article.

Culture

Religion was and is a central part of the whole Tibetan life. Before the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1950 there were 3,700 large monasteries with a total monk population of over 200,000. The political and religious leader of the Tibetan people is the Dalai Lama. The present Dalai Lama is the fourteenth and was formally recognized and enthroned as the fourteenth reincarnation on the Lion Throne in 1940.[8] In 1959, the Dalai Lama fled Tibet and now resides in Darjeeling, India near the Tibetan border.

The large number of monks prior to the Chinese takeover was in part due to the religious law that at least one son from each family had to enter the ranks of Buddhism. Approximately one quarter of the male population were monks. As a consequence polyandry (having more than one husband) was a widespread custom.

Dearey speculates that these social customs were a subconscious product of the harsh enviroment.[9] Such customs would create a static population thereby, avoiding the dangers of overpopulation.

Whatever the reasons, the Buddhist religion was a central and persuasive element in the Tibetan's life. Nor was it confined to Tibet.

> Tibet is the site of some of the most sacred shrines of Buddhism, and its religious prestige reaches far beyond the nation's narrow political confines to far corners of Asia - China, Japan, Korea, Burma, Thailand and Indochina...Tibet's economic impotence finds compensation in the philosophical influence that it wields over millions of Asiatics.[10]

Although the Chinese Constitution specifically states freedom of religion (Article 46 guarantees the right to believe in religion, the right not to believe in religion and the right also to propogate atheism) reports suggest the relevant Article is more show than substance.

> From our extensive travels, we can safely say that more than 99 percent of Tibet's monasteries and temples have been destroyed. They stand in ruins or have been ploughed into wheat fields. Remaining portions of some monasteries are used for grain storage. Tibet, dotted with more than 3,7000 monasteries and temples before the Chinese military occupation, today has only a few temples in Gyangtse, Shigatse, Lhasa and some parts of Amdo where the central temples exist.[11]

Such observations are corroborated by more impartial observers such as David Rogers of Reuters in 1977, David Broder of the Washington Post in the same year and John Fraser of the Globe and Mail in 1979-81.

Tibetan Education in the Past

Education in Tibet prior to 1950 was integrally linked with religion and the monastic system. For example, the Drepung monastery which was founded in 1418 had four colleges in its campus with over 10,000 monks. The monastic university of Sera was built in 1419 and had 7,500 monks. The Ganden monastery, founded in 1418, had over 5,000 monks and was considered an important seat of learning.[12]

The importance of such institutions of learning may be emphasized by recalling that their Western counterparts were the keepers and bastions of knowledge for centuries when learning itself was essentially in disrepute.

Chinese Education

Since the flight of the Dalai Lama and even earlier, the Chinese have attempted to re-mold education in Tibet. Education in China itself has undergone dramatic changes in the twentieth century.

Prior to 1905 education involved teaching the classics such as the writings of Confucius. Education was designed to instill political and moral values. There was little practical or technical instruction. Instruction was done in one of three types of schools, missionary, private Chinese and government. Furthermore instruction was in theory availabe to rich or poor although the vast majority of the latter remain illiterate.

Nationalists, which were the main supporters of the 1911 revolution attacked the missionary schools for teaching a pro-European ethic; they wanted complete control over curriculum yet no great changes were instituted until the Communists gained control in 1949.

The Chinese Communists viewed education as a political weapon. Its main purpose was to wipe out illiteracy and at the same time instill Maoism in the people mainly the youth of China.

Part of this process was to emphasize manual techniques and the nobility of the worker and his task. This was in direct contradiction to the instruction of the classics and by association the hated feudal system. Thus the premise was that appreciation of the worker's role in society would destroy elitist ideals and create an egalitarian society.[13]

This emphasis on manual work continues throughout the educational system. In primary school, for example, subjects listed are language, math, singing, drawing, history, geography, science and manual work. Furthermore less importance is placed on exams than in the Western educational system. Theoretically, the teacher and a student's classmates assess his advancement and encourage spontaneous reactions to develop and stimulate intellectual ability.

Statistics

Statistics on China, let alone Tibet are limited. However based on UNESCO information certain information can be determined. First, that of the countries studied here, China is the poorest with a per capita income of $460. (US) in 1978.[14]

Primary education is 6 years, from ages 7 to 12. Secondary education is also 6 years.[15] There were 65,483,000 students in the secondary system alone in 1978, or almost three times the whole Canadian population. The primary school system had over 146 million students, a student population larger than the whole population of all but half a dozen countries in the world. These children were instructed in 949,000 schools. Attendance at primary school was 118% for children 7 to 12 and 79% for students aged 13 to 16 in secondary school. [16]

There are an estimated 140 million people illiterate in China today. Hundreds of millions can barely read and write. 85% or 120 million of the illiterate are under 45 years of ages, that is born just prior to or during Communist rule.

Although ninety percent of Chinese children enroll in the five year primary school, only 30 percent actually reach the five year standard. The other 70 percent are children of peasants whose fathers see little use in education and therefore are allowed to leave to assist their parents in the fields.

China ranks 113th out of 140 nations in its ratio of university students to population. One of 1,000 or 1 percent of the college age group attend institutions of higher learning in contrast, India enroll five times as many third level students.

The problem in financial. But the vastness of the problem is not improved by the low priority the Chinese government assigns to education. Only 5% of its annual spending is allocated for the entire field of science, education and health.

Compounding the shortage of money and the numbers of students involved is the political compaigns, the most serious of which was the Cultural Revolution. These campaigns create a disruptive pattern in learning resulting in lower overall standards of the students. At present, the down playing of ideology and the emphasis on more Western concepts of education are in vogue. However, whether this approach will be accepted for the long term or altered under accusations of elitism cannot be positively stated.[17]

Certainly if the statistics are assumed to be reliable, the enormity of the undertaking and the size of the education system is quite staggering.

Present Tibetan Education

What has preceded is an attempt to present education as it was, that is the religious system and then to show the development of the education model now being imposed on Tibet.

A request was made to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Ottawa for information relating to minority education policies. They replied in part,

> With regard to your request to obtain some information pertaining to education policies for minorities, more specifically with Tibet it has been found out with regret that this Embassy here does not have any material in that specific area. (June 18, 1981)

Consequently it is assumed that the description of the Communist Party's attitude towards education remains in essence the same.

Professor William Badour, a sinologist at the University of Ottawa made the following observations on education in Tibet.[18] He stated that the policies announced in Peking may not be exactly the same because theoretically they are to be adapted to local needs. These policies, such as they are, are further affected by how the local officials interpret them. Basically the government in Peking draws up education policies for the majority of people, and they are then altered to suit the needs of minority education. The policies have fluctuated considerably over the last 30 years. A major revision was done in 1958 when education policy guidelines on curriculum and work study were done.

According to the professor, the objective of the education policy towards the minority groups was to upgrade their system and improve the level of literacy rather than indoctrinating the people on political issues. However politics is never far removed from education, especially when a mass campaign, such as the Cultural Revolution is under way. The Chinese government established the Peking Institute of National Minorities to develop minority elites for leadership in the party. The Institute is a post secondary education organization.

Tibet is classified as an Autonomous Region. There are five autonomous regions in China. In general, they have large concentrations of minority groups. Although nominally autonomous, their strategic importance and the possibility of resurgent nationalism mean that Peking has overriding rule - that the Party controls policies. Thus the administrative units in each region apply the policies (as noted above) that come from Peking. The policies are directives not legislation, and in general, they closely follow the political line of the moment.

Professor Badour strongly emphasized the point that Tibet was unlike any other autonomous region or for that matter, minority group. Tibet, for example, had the least local control. This lack of local control was a product of the Chinese occupational policy which was the major determinant in its attitude towards Tibetans. The people have a strong indigenous cultural identity and a settled (as opposed to nomadic) character that is unique among the minority groups in China. As a consequence, he suspected that literacy and other educational programmes would be less vigourously pursued than in other minority areas with resulting lower levels of education among the people.

Conclusion

A recent publication of the New China News Circula stated that policies towards Tibet should reflect the needs and present situation in Tibet. It stated that on balance, Tibet could prosper as an autonomous region. Nonetheless the circular reaffirmed the concept of Tibet being an inalienable part of China's territory as well as an autonomous region of particular importance in terms of politics, economics, culture and natural conditions.[19]

Some of the programmes announced increased food subsidies and leisure time; financial loans and assistance for agriculture and livestock production, and propagation of socialist Tibetan sciences and culture.

Yet such announcements must be viewed in terms of past practices as well as the limited resources at the Chinese government's disposal. Furthermore such palliatives to the Tibetan people may never assuage their demands for freedom. For some, the whole concept of communism is in contradiction to the fundamental element of traditional Tibetan life-Buddhism.[20] For others the destruction of the traditional way of life, the rapid disappearance of over 120,000 monks will not be forgotten.

Professor Badour's remark about Tibet is echoed by John Fraser, ex-correspondent for the Globe and Mail in Peking.

> Tibet is, without doubt, the worst example of a national-minority area in China. The oppression visited on the Tibetans, particularly during the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath, was at least the equal of - and probably far worse than - the melodramatic and mostly unbelievable crimes and persecution of the 'feudal Dalai Lama clique' to quote Communist Party propaganda. To this day, the Chinese insist that the Party's policy toward national minorities is 'correct' and they will only admit that 'serious errors' arose under Lin Biao and the Gang of Four - which have since been rectified. But Tibet puts the lie to all that, and before one can even begin to acknowledge some of the material benefit the Communists have brought to the minority areas, there has to be a realistic appraisal of the chaos and misery that went along with it.[21]

He goes on to say,

> Tibet...is certainly the worst example of a national minority area with which to hit Chinese. But it exists and is a shocking indictment of a country that professes antipathy toward both colonialism and racism. The situation is far more settled and stable in other national minority areas, but the differences are of degree, not kind. There is no doubt whatsoever, that the desired final result, however long it takes, its total assimilation of all minority races into the Chinese mainstream.[21]

The Chinese should be reminded that attempts to assimilate the

Indian people in Canada over the last hundred years have failed completely and there is not reason to believe they will be any more successful.

One other lesson should be drawn from the study of Tibet, it does not matter whether a system is capitalist or communist, whether there is an espousal to equality and dignity or not, when a minority interferes or threatens the objectives of a much larger majority, then humanity is ignored.

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Conclusion

A common element in all the preceding studies is that the indigenous group, whether it receives sufficient financial assistance or not, has in general performed below that of the majority population. This is not a profound observation but a very real one. Numerous education specialists have spent many years discoursing on the problem.

For example, R.K. Harker in his studies of Maori children's school achievement found that most authors divide the causes into socio-economic or cultural terms.[1] His own statistical studies suggest that Maori students are far less affected by environmental variations than white children, although within each group the range of individual performances was equal. He suggested that there was a generalized or generalizing factor affecting the performance of Maori children even though he doesn't identify what that factor is.

Dilsko and Smith state that conceptualization is different between Western man and the Aborigine of Australia. He states that for Western man, time and space are depersonalized. Language loses a sense of context in the independence of its meaning whereas the Aborigine speaks a language which is filled with localized meaning. For the Aborigines to understand the language of the dominant culture means the Aborigine must lose his understanding of his own culture because the schools would be unable to take account of the distinction. Thus the school performance of the Aborigine is adversely affected.[2]

Paulo Preire observes, "self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them." He feels that part of the answer is that "it is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours.[3]

Edgar Faure stated,

> We know that from the very earliest age the child's experience plays an essential part in his training, and we can also promote pre-school education, which is all the more valuable as it can compensate...for the handicap suffered by the mass of the people through lack of cultural support in the family enviroment.
>
> It is well known that cultural and above all, linguistic estrangement, in the child constitutes an equally serious, if not more serious handicap. It is essential that the language spoken in a child's family be used during the first stages of his education.[4]

Margaret Gayfer feels, research on education has also indicated that "responsibility in education programs should be decentralized and that local resources including personnel, culturally valid knowledge and skills, should be incorporated into the programs."[5]

The observations and conclusions that have gone before are by individuals whose knowledge of education far exceeds our own competence. Yet one is struck by both the multiple responses and the underlying similarity of each answer - local control, use of the group's natural language and group cultural awareness and pride.

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples held its first General Assembly in Port Alberni, Canada on October 27-31, 1975. Its creation was designed to assist in the fight against physical and cultural genocide, ethnocide and racism, and to promote political, economic and social justice for indigenous peoples based upon the prinicple of equality among indigenous people and the people of nations who may surround them. (See charter, Appendix II)

The second general assembly was held in Kiruna, Samiland in

August of 1977. One of the recommendations made was:

> That educational systems be oriented to emphasize environmental and ecological principles and conservation objectives derived from local cultures and traditions, and that these principles and objectives be given wide publicity.[6]

There are two positive elements here. One is that indigenous peoples from around the world are joining together. As the adage is so often told, in unity there is strength. The second aspect which is a corollary of the first is that the indigenous peoples of the world recognize through the resolution, the fundamental role education must play in the ultimate development and promotion of indigenous peoples's culture and political strength.

The education specialists dealt with in this work list some causes and some solutions. Paulo Freire probably comes closest to the truth in his remarks about cultural oppression. Having identified the problem(s) does not guarantee success of the solution(s). It is one thing to say that aboriginal children should be more positive about their culture and that white or the majority population should view the indigenous peoples culture as equal. It is quite another to see he realization of this ideal.

We believe that the commitment by both national governments and international organizations to spend funds commensurate with the needs of indigenous people in education, would go some way in alleviating the present discrepancies. It ws also our belief that the corner has been turned as far as this recogniion of unique needs for native people by governments in at least the developed countries. We do not think there will be any major overt attempts at assimilation and/or ethnocide as existed until quite recently. Such assurances of the developed world cannot be convincingly construed from intentions of the developing world. In their governments' pursuit of Western style industrialization, the rights and needs of indigenous peoples are likely to be trampled. Nor should the developed world be totally excluded. Although it is unlikely that we will see major retrogressive policies in aboriginal education or other native affairs, the reassertion of right-wing politics, the majority will over minority rights, and economic recession lead one to conclude that progress if any, for indigenous peoples will be long and arduous. Fortunately, the resilience of indigenous peoples to all types of oppression is legendary and as more synthesize western education with their own cultural and historical knowledge, the future in the long run looks bright.

ENDNOTES

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[3] Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, (New York: Seabury Press, 1970) P.49-85

[4] Edgar Faure, et.al., Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow, (Paris: UNESCO, 1972) XXIX

[5] Margaret Gayfer et.al., The World of Literacy: Policy Research and Action,(Ottawa: IRDC, 1979) p.115

[6] Resolution of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples' Second General Assembly, Kiruma, Samiland, August 24-7, 1977

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APPENDICIS

Foreign Exchange Rate

Amount[1] of Canadian Funds	For One:[2]
$1.38	Australian Dollar
.06	Bolivian Pesos[3]
.01	Brazil Cruzeiro
.70	China Renminbi
.05	Ecuador Sucre[3]
.27	Finland Markka
.22	Guadeloupe Franc
.22	Martinique Franc
.05	Mexican Peso
2.10	New Guinea Kina[3]
1.00	New Zealand Dollar
.44	Norway Krone
.003	Peru Sole
1.29	South Africa Rand
.22	Sweden Krona
1.20	United States Dollar

[1] Figures rounded to the nearest cent.

[2] Globe and Mail, October 15, 1921

[3] Deak-Perera Canada In., October, 15, 1981

Table A

Table A contains data on total population, area and density for the world, for each continents, and for 200 countries and territories. It is the most comprehensive table in the Year book in the sense that practically all countries and territories of the world are included. The Population data given are official mid-year estimates for the years 1970, 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978. Area figures, unless otherwise noted, include inland waters. Population density figures (inhabitants per square kilometre) are not given for areas of less than 1,000 square kilometres. Readers interested in more detailed information on area, population and age structure are referred to the various editions of the Demographic Yearbook and the Statistical Yearbook of the United Nations.

In most cases the figures presented in this table are mid-year estimates published by the United Nations in their Demographic Yearbook, Population and Vital Statistics Report of Monthly Bulletin of Statistics. For detailed explanations of the source of these estimates, etc.,please refer to Tables 1, 3 and 5 of the United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1977 and the other publications mentioned.

Table B

Table B presents data on the illiterate population and percentage illiteracy, based on censuses or surveys. The data are broken down by sex and wherever possible refer to the population aged fifteen years and over. A break-down by the urban and rural areas is also shown wherever the data are available.

The Purpose of this table is to present the most recent data on illiteracy received by the Unesco Office of Statistics. Readers interested in data for other years or for different age-groups are referred to the 1977 Unesco publication "Statistics of Educational Attainment and Illiteracy".

Ability to both read and write is used as the criterion of literacy; hence all semi-literates - persons who can read but not write - are included with illiterates. Persons unspecified for literacy are excluded form calculations; hence the percentage of illiteracy for a given country is based on the number of reported illiterates, divided by the total number of reported literates and illiterates. (The same result is obtained by distributing the number of unspecified cases proportionately between the literates and illiterates.)

Table C

Table C shows the percentage distribution of the highest level of educational attainment of the adult population by sex, and wherever possible, by urban and rual areas. The data are derived from national censuses or sample surveys and were provided by the United Nations Statistical Office or were derived form regional or national publications. The purpose of this table is to present the most recent data on illiteracy received by the Unesco Office of Statistics. Readers interested in data for other years of for different age-groups are referred to the 1977 Unesco publication Statistics of Educational Attainment and Illiteracy.

The six levels of educational attainment, ranging from no schooling to post-secondary, are defined as follows:

No schooling. This term applies to those who have completed less than one year of schooling.

Incompleted first level. Since the duration of primary education may vary from four to eight years depending on the country, this category includes all those who completed at least one year of primary education but who did not complete the last year at the primary level. The structure in years of all countries' primary and second education can be found in Table 3.1.

Entered second level, second cycle. This group consists of those who moved to the higher stage of secondary education from the lower stage but did not proceed to post-secondary studies.

Post-secondary level. Anyone who undertook post-secondary studies, whether or not they completed the full course, would be counted in this group.

The number of people whose level of education was not stated has been subtracted from the total population. (Where the unknown category constituted more that 5 per cent of the population aged 25 or more, the actual numbers for each age group have been presented in the footnotes.)

The proportion of the 15-24 age group with some post-secondary education is frequently less than that of the 25-34 age group, because a sizeable proportion of the 15-24 age group is too YOUNG to have reached the post-secondary entrance level. For this reason the total adult age range is taken at 25+ and not 15+ for the purpose of this table.

Table D

This table provides a summary presentation of selected elements of the educational systems actually in force in 202 countries and territories. The information given here facilitates the correct interpretation of the figures shown in the educational tables in the Yearbook.

The first and the second columns provide data on compulsory education regulations. The first column shows lower and upper age limits. Thus 6-14, for example, means that children are subject to compulsory education laws, unless otherwise exempted, from their sixth birthday to their fourteenth birthday. The second column shows the number of years of compulsory school attendance. For example, regulations may stipulate that the duration of compulsory education shall be six years between the ages of 6 and 14. This means that a child would cease to be subject to the regulations either on his fourteenth birthday or on completion of six years' schooling (though he might then be only 12 or 13 years old).

However, in many countries and territories where the urgent problem is to provide sufficient schools for all children, the existence of compulsory school laws may be only of academic interest since almost all such regulations exempt a child from attending if there is no suitable school within reasonable distance of his home.

The third column gives the age at which children are accepted for education preceding the first level. For most countries education preceding the first level is still provided on a limited basis, often restricted to urban areas where only a small proportion of children within the ages shown is actually receiving pre-school education. The diagrams for all countries and territories which follow these three columns provide a pictorial representation of the duration and age of admission into first level and second level general education. The diagrams for all countries and territories which follow these three columns provide a pictorial representation of the duration and age of admission into first level and second level general education according to the education system presently in force. Information on teacher training and other second level education are not presented, the letters 'A' show the duration of first level education, the letters 'B' that for the first cycle of second level general education and the letters 'C' the duration of the second cycle of second level general education., It should be noted that for some countries and territories no distinction is made between the two cycles of second level general education. In these cases the duration of this level of education is shown simpley by letters 'B'. Further, for a certain number of countries, the entrance age and duration of education at these two levels may vary depending on the area or type of school. For these countries the most common system is shown in the diagram. A footnote at the end of this figure indicates the other existing possibilities.

Table E

This table presents school enrollment ratios for the years 1970, 1974, 1975, 1976, and 1977 where available. These enrollment ratios are shown for countries and territories whose population exceed 250,000. For countries whose population is less than 250,000, population data any single years of age are not available. Demographic data have been obtained from the Population Division of the United Nations and the enrollment data uses to calculate the gross enrollment ratios appear in tables 3.4, 3.7 and 3.11 of this Yearbook. Where enrollment data by age for the primary and secondary levels are also available, a net enrollment ratio has been calculated.

All ratios are expressed as percentages. The gross enrollment ratio is the total enrollment of all ages divided by the population of the specific age groups which correspond to the age groups of primary and secondary schooling. The net enrollment ratio has been calculated by using only that part of the enrollment which corresponds to the age groups of primary and secondary schooling.

These ratios have been calculated taking into account the differing national systems of education and the duration of schooling at the first and second levels. At the third level the figures for the population aged 20-24 have been used throughout.

The age groups used to calculate enrollment ratios for the primary and secondary levels shown in the table, have been determined according to the following rules:

1. For countries which have a single school at each level, the age group is defined in conformity with the normal entrance age and normal duration of general schooling at the first and second levels as given in table D.

2. In the case of countries with several systems of the differing durations, the system followed by the majority of the pupils has been used.

3. When it has not been possible to identify one of several systems as being followed by a majority, then the most representative system has been used. Where it has been necessary to calculate an average of several systems and the calculation produced a fraction, the duration has been rounded up to the next highest year.

4. The durations used are those which were operative in that year. However, in the case of Malta and Spain, there used to be a grade overlap between the primary and secondary systems. This is no longer true and the enrollment ratios for these two countries have been calculated using the durations corresponding to the present structure of the educational system. For federal countries, e.g. Federal Republic of Germany, United States of America, the individual enrollment ratios for the first and second levels have been suppressed since they are distorted because of an overlap of durations for these two levels of education between states. The combined enrollment ratio, however, for these two levels of education does not suffer from this

defect. It should be noted that for each of these two countries, the net enrollment ratio for first level education is estimated as 100.

The age group for the combined ratio for the first and second levels is defined by taking a whole range covered by two age groups defined for the first and second levels.

Enrollment ratios for the second level are based on the total enrollment including general education, teacher-training and other second level education. Table G should be consulted for more details on enrollment data. It should be emphasized that the gross enrollment ratio at the first and second levels includes pupils of all possible ages, whereas the population is limited to the range of official school ages defined according to the above-mentioned rules. Therefore, for countries with almost universal education amoung the school-age population at the first level, the gross enrollment ratio will exceed 100 if the actual age distribution of pupils spreads over outside the official school ages.

Table F

In gerneral, data in this table cover both public and private schools at the first level of education, including primary classes attached to secondary schools but excluding schools and classes organized for adults or for handicapped children. In consulting this table, reference should be made to the information given on duration of schooling in Table D. Figures on teachers refer, in general, to both full-time and part-time teachers, excluding other instructional personnel without teaching function (e.g. certain principals, librarians, guidance personnel, etc.). However, it has not been possible to ascertain for which countries such other instructional personnel are included.

Table G

This table gives the number of teachers and full-time pupils by sex enrolled in each of the three types of education at the second level, i.e. general, teacher-training and other second level as well as for all three types combined. Unless otherwise stated, data cover public and private schools. However, due to a lack of data on teachers, certain years have been omitted in this table although enrollment data are shown for these years.

In most cases, data include part-time teachers and their proportion is particularly substantial in other second level education. Generally, it can be stated that, whenever the number of teachers seems disproportionately high in relation to the number of pupils enrolled, this is due to the fact that the figures include not only full-time teachers, but also various categories of part-time teachers. Instructional personnel without teaching functions (e.g. librarians, guidance personnel, certain principals, etc.) have been excluded whenever possible.

Second level, General: The term 'second level, general' refers to education in 'secondary schools' that provide general or specialized instruction based upon at least four years previous instruction at the first level, and which do not aim at preparing the pupils directly for a given trade or occupation. Such schools may be called high schools, middle schools, lyceums, gymnasiums, etc., and offer courses of study whose completion is a minimum condition for admission to university. In many countries, because of the desire to provide other types of training for students not proceeding to university, there has been a development of schools with the aim of providing both academic and vocational training. These 'composite' secondary schools are considered as equivalent to the academic type of secondary school and are classified as 'second level, general'.

Second level, Teacher-training: The term 'second level, teacher-training' refers to education in schools whose purpose is the training of students for the teaching profession, and which do not require as a prerequisite the completion of secondary school.

Second level, Other: The term 'second level, other' is here used to cover education of a vocational or technical nature provided in those 'secondary schools' which aim at repairing the pupils directly for a trade or occupation other than teaching. Such schools have many different names and vary greatly as to type and duration of training. Part-time courses and short courses abound and are excluded wherever possible.

For international comparisons, this table should be consulted in conjunction with table D.

Table H

This table shows, as a ratio, the number of students enrolled at the third level of education per 100,000 inhabitants. The ratios are provided for the years 1970, 1974, 1975, 1976, and 1977 and have been calculated using the enrollment data shown in Table 3.11 and the population figures provided by the Population Division of the United Nations.

Table I

This table presents total public expenditure on education distributed between current and capital.

Educational expenditure is also expressed as a percentage of the Gross National Product (GNP) and of total public expenditure, i.e. current and investment budgets of all government levels. For some countries use was made of the Gross Domestic Product (GNP) and, for countries with centrally-planned economies, the

Net Material Product (NMP). It should be noted that, owing to the difference in the concepts of these aggregates, the percentages shown are not strictly comparable internationally. Where capital expenditure on education is missing the percentages refer to current educational expenditure in relation to Gross National Product on the one hand and to current national budget on the other.

Table J

Public current expenditure on education in this table is divided into the following categories:

Administration: emoluments of administrative staff and other expenditure of the central and local administration.

Emoluments of teachers: salaries and all other additional benefits paid to teachers as well as to other auxilliary teaching staff.

Other direct instructional expenditure: expenditure directly related to instructional activities such as the purchase of textbooks, books and other scholastic supplies.

Scholarships and grants: scholarships and all other forms of financial aid granted to students for studies in the country or abroad.

Welfare services: boarding costs, school meals, transport, medical services, etc.

Not distributed: expenditure which cannot be distributed and other expenditure attached to the operation and maintenance of buildings and equipment.

TABLE A

Population, area and density 1970 - 1978

CONTINENT COUNTRY	ESTIMATES OF MID-YEAR POPULATION 1970	1975	1976	1977	(THOUSANDS) 1978	AREA (KM^2)	INHABITANTS PER KM^2 1978
NORTH AMERICA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
CANADA	21,320	22,831	23,143	23,280	23,499	9,976,139	2
GREENLAND	47	54	50	56	51	2,175,600	
GUADELOUPE	327	330	330	330	330	1,779	186
MARTINIQUE	338	330	320	320	325	1,102	295
MEXICO	50,690	60,145	62,329	64,594	66,944	9,363,123	34
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	204,880	21,611	215,118	216,817	218,059	9,363,123	23
SOUTH AMERICA							
BOLIVIA	4,931	4,890	5,020	5,150	5,290		5
BRAZIL	92,520	106,230	109,181	112,239	115,397	8,511,965	14
ECUADOR	6,093	6,733	7,305	7,556	7,814	283,561	28
PERU	13,450	15,470	15,910	16,358	16,819	1,285,216	13
EUROPE							
FINLAND	4,610	4,707	4,727	4,737	4,752	337,009	14
NORWAY	3,879	4,007	4,026	4,042	4,059	324,219	13
SWEDEN	8,046	8,195	8,222	8,255	8,278	449,964	18
OCEANIA							
AUSTRALIA	12,510	13,770	13,920	14,074	14,249	7,686,848	2
NEW CALEDONIA	110	125	135	136	144	19,058	8
NEW ZEALAND	2,816	3,070	3,090	3,105	3,107	268,676	12
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	2,490	2,756	2,829	2,905	3,000	461,691	7
ASIA							
CHINA	855,810	895,340	980,290	920,810	933,032	9,596,961	97
AFRICA							
SOUTH AFRICA	22,470	25,471	26,129	26,940	27,700	1,221,037	23

TABLE B

COUNTRY AND YEAR OF CENSUS OR SURVEY			AGE	ILLITERATE POPULATION TOTAL	MALES	FEMALE	PERCENTAGES OF ILLITERATES TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
NORTH AMERICA									
GUADELOUPE	1967		15+	29,627	13,944	15,683	16.8	16.5	17.1
MARTINIQUE	1967		15+	22,003	10,720	11,283	12.2	12.6	11.8
MEXICO	1970	TOTAL POPULATION	15+	6,693,706	2,772,999	3,920,707	25.8	21.8	29.5
		URBAN POPULATION	15+	2,621,751	979,296	1,642,455	16.7	13L1	20.0
		RURAL POPULATION	15+	4,071,955	1,793,703	2,278,252	39.7	34.3	45.3
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1969		14+	1,435,000	708,000	727,00	1.0	1.1	1.0
SOUTH AMERICA									
BOLIVIA	1976	TOTAL POPULATION	15+	1,012,212	324,622	687,590	37.3	24.8	49.0
		URBAN POPULATION	15+	183,427	36,024	147,403	16.0	6.6	24.3
		RURAL POPULATION	15+	828,785	288,598	540,187	53.0	37.7	67.8
BRAZIL	1976		15+	15,644,700	6,916,600	8,728,100	24.3	22.0	26.5
		TOTAL POPULATION	10+	18,171,552	8,315,449	9,856,103	23.6	21.7	24.8
		URBAN POPULATION	10+	7,427,313	2,972,258	4,455,055	14.4	12.0	16.6
		RURAL POPULATION	10+	10,744,239	5,343,191	5,401,048	40.6	39.4	41.9
ECUADOR	1974	TOTAL POPULATION	15+	932,723	390,435	542,288	25.8	21.8	29.6
		URBAN POPULATION	15+	13,280	50,615	192,655	9.7	6.9	12.2
		RURAL POPULATION	15+	779,443	339,820	439,623	38.2	32.3	44.4
PERU	1972	TOTAL POPULATION	15+	2,062,870	624,018	1,438,852	27.5	16.7	38.2
		URBAN POPULATION	15+	586,191	137,018	444,176	12.6	5.9	19.1
		RURAL POPULATION	15+	1,454,676	487,000	994,676	50.9	32.9	69.2
OCEANIA									
NEW CALEDONIA	1976		15+	7,133	3,370	3,763	8.7	7.8	9.7
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	1971		10+	1,106,830	512,713	594,167	67.9	60.7	75.6
AFRICA									
SOUTH AFRICA	1960	TOTAL POPULATION	15+	4,103,218	2,056,535	2,046,683	43.0	43.0	43.0
		URBAN POPULATION	15+	1,193,091	769,659	403,432	-	-	-
		RURAL POPULATION	15+	2,930,127	1,286,876	1,643,287	-	-	-
		BANTU POPULATION	15+	3,742,561	1,891,405	1,851,156	59.0	58.0	59.0
		WHITE POPULATION	15+	36,392	16,620	19,772	2.0	2.0	2.0
		ASIATIC POPULATION	15+	68,851	17,309	52,542	26.0	13.0	40.0
		COLOURED POPULATION	15+	255,414	131,201	124,213	31.0	33.0	30.0

TABLE C

Eductional Attainment

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	AGE GROUP	TOTAL POPULATION	NO SCHOOL	HIGHEST LEVEL ATTAINED FIRST LEVEL INCOMPLETED	 COMPLETED	 ENTERED SECOND LEVEL C-1	 C-2	 POST-SECONDARY
				(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
NORTH AMERICA										
CANADA										
TOTAL POPULATION	1976	MF	25+	12,618,015	1.8	18.5	12.2	36.6		30.9
		F	25+	6,449,805	1.9	18.2	12.0	39.4		28.5
URBAN POPULATION		MF	25+	9,719,770	1.6	17.1	10.9	37.09		33.3
		F	25+	5,055,130	1.8	17.5	11.1	39.6		30.0
RURAL POPULATION		MF	25+	2,898,255	2.4	23.3	16.3	35.0		22.9
		F	25+	1,394,695	2.2	21.1	15.1	38.3		23.4
MEXICO	1970	MF	20+	20,951,564	89.8			4.1	3.6	2.6
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1970	MF	25+	109,632,000	7.0		20.0	50.7		22.3
		F	25+	58,275,000	6.4		19.3	55.5		18.8
SOUTH AMERICA										
BOLIVIA	1976	MF	20+	2,157,346	43.0	41.7		9.3		5.9
		F	20+	1,117,123	55.5	32.9		7.4		4.1
BRAZIL	1976	MF	25+	42,096,300	32.7	53.0	4.3	5.7		4.3
		F	25+	21,419,800	36.0	50.8	4.0	6.0		3.2
ECUADOR										
TOTAL POPULATIONN	1974	MF	25+	2,296,282	31.9	53.7		5.9	5.3	3.2
		F	25+	1,160,896	36.8	49.8		6.0	5.8	1.7
URBAN POPULATION		MF	25+	958,110	13.00	56.7		12.1	11.2	7.0
		F	25+	508,630	16.4	56.3		11.9	11.9	3.5
RURAL POPULATION		MF	25+	1,338,172	45.4	51.5		1.5	1.1	0.4
		F	25+	652,265	52,8	44.7		1.3	1.1	0.2
PERU	1972	MF	25+	5,008,980	35.0	47.1		13.4		4.5
		F	25+	2,539,525	47.5	38.6		10.9		3.0
URBAN POPULATION		MF	5+	7,073,800	23.7	42.2	27.6	12.8	10.1	4.8

						HIGHEST LEVEL ATTAINED				
						FIRST LEVEL		ENTERED SECOND LEVEL		POST-SECONDARY
COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	AGE GROUP	TOTAL POPULATION	NO SCHOOL	INCOMPLETED	COMPLETED	C-1	C-2	
				(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		F	5+	3,545,100	28.4	31.2	16.8	11.0	9.0	3.6
RURAL POPULATION	1972	MF	5+	4,689,400	57.7	32.8	6.3	2.0	0.9	0.3
		F	5+	2,334,600	70.3	24.3	3.6	1.1	0.5	0.2
OCEANIA										
AUSTRALIA	1971	MF	25+	6,878,445	0.9	29.3		48.3		21.5
		F	25+	3,472,417	0.9	30.1		59.0		10.0
NEW CALEDONIA	1976	MF	14+	76,774	9.4	75.6		13.1		2.0
		F	14+	36,291	10.5	75.9		12.2		1.4
NEW ZEALAND	1966	MF	25+	1,368,501	0.9	39.9		54.3		4.9
		F	25+	693,746	0.9	40.3		55.9		2.9
PAPUA NEW GUINEA INDIGENOUS POP.	1971	MF	25+	917,993	85.7	12.0		2.3		
		F	25+	452,973	89.5	9.7		0.8		
AFRICA										
SOUTH AFRICA TOTAL POPULATION	1970	MF	25+	8,685,225	42.1	21.4	5.3	20.7	6.7	3.7
		F	25+	4,448,424	43.7	20.8	5.6	20.9	6.0	3.1
URBAN POPULATION		MF	25+	4,749,410	23.6	21.9	7.1	31.2	10.6	5.6
		F	25+	2,159,486	14.9	21.2	8.0	35.1	10.7	5.1
RURAL POPULATION		MF	25+	3,935,314	64.6	20.8	3.3	8.1	1.9	1.3
		F	25+	2,288,938	66.1	20.3	3.4	7.5	1.5	1.2
EUROPE										
FINLAND	1970	MF	25+	2,610,744	69.9			17.8	6.2	6.1
NORWAY	1975	MF	16+	3,014,668	2.1			62.4	27.0	8.5
		F	16+	1,533,194	1.8			67.5	24.5	6.2

TABLE D

National Education Systems

DIVISION COUNTRY	COMPULSORY EDUCATION AGE LIMITS	COMPULSORY EDUCATION DURATION (YEARS)	ENTRANCE AGE TO EDUCATION PRECEDING THE FIRST LEVEL	ENTRANCE AGE: FIRST SECOND LEVEL GENERAL EDUCATION A--A FIRST LEVEL B--B SECOND LEVEL B--B C--C SUB 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
NORTH AMERICA				
CANADA	6-15	8-10	5	A--A--A--A---A---A B---B-- B C-- C-- C
MARTINIQUE	6-16	10	2	A--A--A--A---A B --B---B---B C --C---C
MEXICO	6-14	6	3	A--A--A--A---A---A B---B---B C---C-- C
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	7-16	10	3	A--A--A--A--A---A B---B-- B---B-- B---B
GUADELOUPE	6-16	10	2	A--A--A--A--A B---B---B---B C---C---C
SOUTH AMERICA				
BOLIVIA	6-14	8	4	A--A--A--A---A---A---A B---B---B---B
BRAZIL	7-14	8	4	A--A--A---A---A---A---A---A B --B---B
ECUADOR	6-14	6	4	A--A--A--A---A---A B---B---B C---C---C
PERU	6-14	9	4	A--A--A--A---A---A B---B --B C---C
ASIA				
CHINA	...	...	3	A--A--A---A---A---A B---B C---C
EUROPE				
FINLAND	7-16	9	3	A--A--A---A---A---A B---B---B C---C---C
NORWAY	7-16	9	5	A--A--A---A-- -A---A B --B---B C---C---C
SWEDEN	7-16	9	3	A--A--A---A---A---A B---B---B C---C---C
OCEANIA				
AUSTRALIA	6-15	9,10	4	A--A--A--A---A---A B---B---B C---C
NEW CALEDONIA	6-14	8	3	A--A--A--A---A---A B---B---B---B C---C---C
NEW ZEALAND	6-15	9	3	A--A--A--A--A---A B---B---B---B C---C---C
AFRICA				
SOUTH AFRICA	7-14	7,9	3	A--A--A--A---A---A---A B---B---B---B---B

TABLE E

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL GROSS	FIRST LEVEL NET	SECOND LEVEL GROSS	SECOND LEVEL NET	1ST AND 2ND LEVELS GROSS	3RD LEVEL GROSS
NORTH AMERICA								
			(6-13)		(14-19)		(6-19)	(20-24)
CANADA	1970	MF	101	93	65	...	86	34.59
		M	101	92	65	...	87	41.22
		F	100	93	65	...	86	27.90
			(6-11)		(12-17)		(6-17)	
(20-24)								
	1974	MF	98	...	92	...	95	34.47
		M	99	...	92	...	95	38.72
		F	98	...	93	...	95	30.19
	1975	MF	99	...	91	...	95	39.31
		M	99	...	90	...	94	43.31
		F	99	...	92	...	95	35.30
	1976	MF	100	...	91	...	95	38.65
		M	101	...	90	...	95	40.66
		F	100	...	92	...	96	36.64
	1977	MF	101	...	89	...	94	37.66
		M	101	...	88	...	94	38.79
		F	100	...	90	...	95	36.52
GUADELOUPE	1970		(6-10)		(11-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
		MF	151	100	51	45	96	...
		M	152	100	44	...	93	...
		F	150	100	58	...	99	...
	1974	MF	136	...	68	...	96	...
		M	131	...	64	...	91	...
		F	141	...	74	...	102	...

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL GROSS	FIRST LEVEL NET	SECOND LEVEL GROSS	SECOND LEVEL NET	1ST AND 2ND LEVELS GROSS	3RD LEVEL GROSS
	1975	MF	152	...	69	63	101	...
		M	154	...	64	57	99	...
		F	150	...	73	69	104	...
	1976	MF	164	...	71	65	106	...
		M	166	...	67	62	104	...
		F	161	...	75	69	108	...
	1977	MF	152	...	...	...	...	...
	1978	MF	156	...	71	70	106	...
		M	...	...	71	65	...	...
		F	...	...	84	75	...	...
MARTINIQUE	1970		(6-10)		(11-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
		MF	152	100	58	53	100	...
		M	155	...	51	...	99	...
		F	148	...	64	...	102	...
	1974	MF	137	...	76	...	101	...
		M	137	...	69	...	97	...
		F	136	...	82	...	104	...
	1975	MF	142	...	71	65	99	...
		M	143	...	64	58	95	...
		F	140	...	78	72	103	...
	1976	MF	150	...	72	66	102	...
		M	152	...	65	60	98	...
		F	149	...	80	73	106	...
	1977	MF	147	...	...	...	...	...
	1978	MF	150	...	78	71	104	...
		M	...	...	70	65	...	...
		F	...	...	86	77	...	...
MEXICO	1970		(6-11)		(12-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
		MF	104	81	22	16	68	6.07

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL GROSS	FIRST LEVEL NET	SECOND LEVEL GROSS	SECOND LEVEL NET	1ST AND 2ND LEVELS GROSS	3RD LEVEL GROSS
		M	107	81	26	...	61	9.67
		F	102	82	17	...	64	2.45
	1974	MF	111	...	31	...	75	9.87
		M	114	...	36	...	79	...
		F	107	...	26	...	70	...
	1975	MF	112	...	35	...	77	10.61
		M	116	...	41	...	82	...
		F	109	...	28	...	72	...
	1976	MF	116	91	37	...	80	10.31
		M	117	...	41	...	83	14.78
		F	114	...	33	...	77	5.69
	1977	MF	116	...	39	...	81	11.43
		M	119	...	42	...	84	16.01
		F	114	...	36	...	78	6.68
	1978	MF	122	...	42	...	86	...
UNITED STATES			(6-12)		(13-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
OF AMERICA	1970	MF	...	...	...	...	101	49.43
		M	...	...	...	...	100	57.71
		F	...	...	...	...	11	41.05
	1974	MF	...	...	...	...	99	54.53
		M	...	...	...	...	98	59.64
		F	...	...	...	...	99	49.35
	1975	MF	...	...	...	...	101	58.17
		M	...	...	...	...	100	63.53
		F	...	...	...	...	102	52.73
	1976	MF	...	...	...	...	100	56.07
		M	...	...	...	...	99	58.81

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL		SECOND LEVEL		1ST AND 2ND LEVELS	3RD LEVEL
			GROSS	NET	GROSS	NET	GROSS	GROSS
		F	...	...	...	...	101	53.30
	1977	MF	...	...	...	...	100	56.03
		M	...	...	...	...	100	57.15
		F	...	...	...	...	101	54.90
BOLIVIA			(6-13)		(14-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
	1970	MF	76	...	25	...	62	9.75
		M	90	...	30	...	73	14.07
		F	62	...	21	...	50	5.49
	1974	MF	80	...	32	...	66	11.62
		M	89	...	37	...	74	16.73
		F	71	...	27	...	58	6.65
	1975	MF	84	73	31	21	69	12.57
		M	94	...	35	...	77	17.42
		F	75	...	26	...	61	7.86
	1976	MF	86	...	29	...	70	12.61
		M	96	...	34	...	78	17.50
		F	76	...	25	...	62	7,86
	1977	MF	...	...	...	...	...	12.58
		M	...	...	...	...	...	17.43
		F	...	...	...	...	...	7.85
BRAZIL	1970		(7-10)		(11-17)		(7-17)	(20-24)
		MF	125	73	26	18	65	5.26
		M	125	...	26	...	65	6.61
		F	125	...	26	...	65	3.94
	1974	MF	90	73	24	8	74	9.79
		M	89	73	22	7	73	10.38
		F	90	73	26	9	74	9.22
	1975	MF	89	...	...	...	...	10.78
	1976	MF	88	...	...	...	...	12.62

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL		SECOND LEVEL		1ST AND 2ND LEVELS	3RD LEVEL
			GROSS	NET	GROSS	NET	GROSS	GROSS
ECUADOR	1970		(6-11)		(12-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
		MF	100	80	26	...	67	7.86
		M	103	82	28	...	69	10.91
		F	97	79	24	...	64	4.76
	1974	MF	105	81	36	26	74	23.26
		M	108	82	37	26	76	...
		F	103	80	34	25	72	...
	1975	MF	107	82	40	28	77	27.84
		M	110	82	41	28	79	...
		F	104	81	38	27	74	...
	1976	MF	110	...	44	...	79	28.51
		M	113	...	46	...	82	...
		F	107	...	41	...	77	...
	1977	MF	108	...	46	...	82	...
		M	110	...	48	...	82	...
		F	106	...	43	...	78	...
PERU	1970		(6-11)		(12-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
		MF	103	71	30	21	70	11.05
		M	111	75	34	23	76	14.42
		F	96	67	26	19	64	7.64
	1974	MF	108	...	42	...	81	13.65
		M	113	...	46	...	86	18.22
		F	103	...	37	...	76	8.97
	1975	MF	110	...	44	...	82	14.19
		M	114	...	49	...	87	19.18
		F	114	...	39	...	78	9.16
	1976	MF	112	...	47	...	85	15.02
		M	116	...	52	...	90	20.31
		F	107	...	42	...	80	9.68

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL GROSS	FIRST LEVEL NET	SECOND LEVEL GROSS	SECOND LEVEL NET	1ST AND 2ND LEVELS GROSS	3RD LEVEL GROSS
	1977	MF	112	...	50	...	86	15.79
		M	116	...	53	...	90	...
		F	106	...	46	...	81	...
	1978	MF	113	...	54	...	89	...
ASIA CHINA	1977		(7-12)		(13-16)		(7-16)	(20-24)
		MF	112	...	72	...	96	0.64
		M	111	...	86	...	101	0.88
		F	114	...	59	...	92	0.39
	1978	MF	118	...	79	...	102	...
FINLAND	1970		(7-12)		(13-18)		(7-18)	(20-24)
		MF	82	...	102	71	92	13.34
		M	84	...	98	...	91	13.41
		F	79	...	106	...	93	13.26
	1974	MF	90	...	106	...	98	16.74
		M	92	...	100	...	96	16.31
		F	88	...	113	...	101	17.19
	1975	MF	89	...	81	...	85	18.36
		M	90	...	77	...	83	18.01
		F	88	...	86	...	87	18.74
	1976	MF	87	...	84	...	86	19.30
		M	88	...	80	...	84	18.88
		F	87	...	89	...	88	19.74
	1977	MF	86	...	86	...	86	20.42
		M	87	...	82	...	84	19.98
		F	86	...	91	...	88	20.87
	1978	MF	85	...	89	...	87	...
		M	86	...	85	...	85	...
		F	85	...	94	...	90	...

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL		SECOND LEVEL		1ST AND 2ND LEVELS	3RD LEVEL
			GROSS	NET	GROSS	NET	GROSS	GROSS
NORWAY	1970		(7-13)		(14-19)		(7-19)	(20-24)
		MF	89	88	83	65	87	15.91
		M	85	...	84	...	84	21.52
		F	93	...	83	...	89	9.94
	1974		(7-12)		(13-18)		(7-18)	(20-24)
		MF	101	...	89	...	95	21.20
		M	101	...	89	...	95	26.42
		F	101	...	90	...	96	15.69
	1975	MF	101	100	88	79	95	22.06
		M	101	99	88	79	94	26.82
		F	101	100	88	80	95	17.06
	1976	MF	101	100	89	80	95	24.33
		M	101	100	88	80	95	27.14
		F	101	100	89	81	95	21.38
	1977	MF	100	99	90	81	95	24.12
		M	100	99	89	81	95	26.40
		F	100	99	91	82	96	21.74
SWEDEN	1970		(7-12)		(13-19)		(7-19)	(20-24)
		MF	94	...	73	...	82	21.34
		M	93	...	73	...	83	24.04
		F	95	...	72	...	82	18.51
	1974	MF	100	...	71	...	85	22.08
		M	100	...	71	...	85	23.45
		F	101	...	71	...	85	20.65
	1975	MF	101	100	67	...	83	28.80
		M	101	100	64	...	82	33.72
		F	102	100	70	...	85	23.68
	1976	MF	100	...	67	...	83	30.97
		M	100	...	64	...	81	35.25
		F	101	...	70	...	84	26.52

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL		SECOND LEVEL		1ST AND 2ND LEVELS	3RD LEVEL
			GROSS	NET	GROSS	NET	GROSS	GROSS
	1977	MF	99	...	69	...	83	34.82
		M	99	...	66	...	81	38.11
		F	99	...	72	...	85	31.37
	1978	MF	99	...	73	...	85	...
		M	99	...	70	...	83	...
		F	99	...	76	...	86	...
OCEANIA								
AUSTRALIA	1970		(5-11)		(12-17)		(5-17)	(20-24)
		MF	98	...	69	...	85	16.62
		M	98	...	70	...	86	21.70
		F	98	...	67	...	85	11.21
	1974	MF	91	85	71	70	82	22.24
		M	92	84	71	70	82	26.69
		F	91	85	71	70	82	17.62
	1975	MF	92	85	73	71	83	23.96
		M	92	85	73	71	83	27.98
		F	92	86	73	72	83	19.80
	1976	MF	92	86	73	72	83	24.91
		M	92	85	73	71	83	28.18
		F	92	86	74	72	83	21.52
	1977	MF	94	88	73	72	84	25.31
		M	94	87	72	71	84	28.43
		F	93	88	74	72	84	22.09
	1978	MF	...	...	...	...	...	25.60
		M	...	...	...	...	...	28.22
		F	...	...	...	...	...	22.88
NEW ZEALAND	1970		(5-10)		(11-17)		(5-17)	(20-24)
		MF	110	100	77	76	93	18.40
		M	111	100	77	76	94	21.82
		F	109	100	76	75	92	14.82

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL		SECOND LEVEL		1ST AND 2ND LEVELS	3RD LEVEL
			GROSS	NET	GROSS	NET	GROSS	GROSS
	1974	MF	105	100	79	78	91	26.58
		M	106	99	79	78	92	32.71
		F	104	100	80	79	91	20.13
	1975	MF	107	100	81	79	93	27.81
		M	108	100	80	79	93	33.82
		F	106	100	81	80	93	21.49
	1976	MF	108	100	82	80	94	28.25
		M	109	100	81	80	94	34.06
		F	108	100	82	81	94	22.12
	1977	MF	...	...	...	...	...	28.20
PAPUA NEW GUINEA			(7-12)		(13-18)		(7-18)	(20-24)
	1970	MF	52	...	8	...	32	0.51
		M	64	...	11	...	40	0.82
		F	39	...	4	...	24	0.17
	1974	MF	56	...	10	...	35	2.66
		M	69	...	13	...	44	4.28
		F	41	...	7	...	26	0.89
	1975	MF	57	...	12	...	36	...
		M	69	...	16	...	45	...
		F	44	...	7	...	27	...
	1976	MF	58	...	12	...	37	...
		M	71	...	16	...	46	...
		F	45	...	7	...	28	...
	1977	MF	59	...	12	...	37	...
		M	70	...	17	...	46	...
		F	47	...	7	...	28	...
	1978	MF	60	60	13	...	38	...
		M	70	70	18	...	46	...
		F	49	49	8	...	30	...

ENROLLMENT RATIOS

COUNTRY	YEAR	SEX	FIRST LEVEL GROSS	FIRST LEVEL NET	SECOND LEVEL GROSS	SECOND LEVEL NET	1ST AND 2ND LEVELS GROSS	3RD LEVEL GROSS
AFRICA ~~SOUTH~~ AMERICA	1970		(6-12)		(13-17)		(6-17)	(20-24)
		MF	99	67	18	...	69	4.51
		M	100	67	18	...	69	6.81
		F	99	68	17	...	68	2.26
	1972	MF	100	...	20	...	73	4.72
		M	105	...	20	...	73	2.37

TABLE F

COUNTRY	YEAR	SCHOOLS	TEACHING STAFF			PUPILS ENROLLED			PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO RATIO
			TOTAL	FEMALE	% F	TOTAL	FEMALE	% F	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		(7)	(8)
NORTH AMERICA									
CANADA	1970	...	159,900	...	...	3,436,450	1,817,268	49	23
	1974	...	257,300	...	...	2,534,137	1,229,011	48	20
	1975	...	256,200	...	...	2,440,016	1,190,489	49	20
	1976	...	255,900	...	...	2,372,784	1,156,234	49	19
	1977	...	...	...	...	2,289,586	1,115,793	49	..
GUADELOUPE	1970	335	2,058	...	...	70,288	34,241	49	34
	1974	...	...	...	...	59,392	...	..	..
	1975	257	2,018	...	...	62,813	...	..	31
	1976	...	...	...	...	63,934	...	..	..
	1977	...	...	...	...	56,567	...	..	..
	1978	243	2,139	1,147	69	55,202	...	..	26
MARTINIQUE	1970	246	2,425	...	...	68,785	33,694	49	28
	1974	...	...	...	...	59,528	...	..	..
	1975	238	2,273	...	...	58,747	...	..	26
	1976	238	...	...	...	58,749	...	..	..
	1977	...	...	...	...	54,720	...	..	..
	1978	231	2,156	1,545	72	53,029	...	..	25
MEXICO	1970	46,010	201,453	122,123	61	9,248,290	4,433,507	48	46
	1974	48,484	242,029	...	...	10,999,713	5,230,438	48	45
	1975	55,168	255,939	159,055	62	11,461,415	5,450,446	48	45
	1976	53,571	274,717	170,562	62	12,148,221	5,872,822	48	44
	1977	54,642	286,156	...	...	12,560,035	6,031,156	48	44
	1978	68,704	334,146	...	...	13,604,476	...	..	41
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1970	81,849	1,316,000	...	...	31,900,000	...	..	24
	1974	79,070	1,331,000	...	...	27,141,000	...	..	20
	1975	77,619	1,343,000	...	...	26,846,000	...	..	20
	1976	76,970	1,293,000	...	...	25,928,000	...	..	20
	1977	...	1,330,000	...	...	25,652,000	...	..	19

COUNTRY	YEAR	SCHOOLS	TEACHING STAFF			PUPILS ENROLLED			PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO RATIO
			TOTAL	FEMALE	% F	TOTAL	FEMALE	% F	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		(7)	(8)
SOUTH AMERICA									
BOLIVIA	1970	...	25,509	...	...	679,123	276,556	41	27
	1974	...	35,302	...	...	809,579	358,328	44	23
	1975	4,893	38,737	...	...	879,826	390,720	44	23
	1976	...	...	...	...	922,850	...	..	..
BRAZIL	1970	146,136	457,406	433,542	95	12,812,029	6,368,913	50	28
	1974	180,915	887,424	754,885	85	19,286,611	9,610,291	50	22
	1975	188,260	869,652	...	...	19,549,249	...	..	22
ECUADOR	1970	7,692	26,609	16,899	64	1,016,483	490,379	48	38
	1974	8,978	31,054	20,195	65	1,164,223	566,685	49	37
	1975	9,608	31,360	20,439	65	1,228,589	596,282	49	39
	1976	9,696	33,567	21,824	65	1,278,402	620,438	49	38
	1977	10,179	37,161						
PERU	1970	18,439	65,965	...	...	2,341,068	1,074,300	46	35
	1974	19,780	72,993	...I...		2,741,060	...	..	38
	1975	19,701	72,641	...	...	2,840,625	...	..	39
	1976	19,701	73,849	...	...	2,961,252	...	..	40
	1977	19,420	75,491	...	...	3,019,624	1,426,772	47	40
	1978	...	77,844	...	...	3,126,000	...	..	40
ASIA									
CHINA	1977	...	...	...	...	140,000,000	70,000,000	50	..
	1978	949,000	...	...	...	146,240,000	...	..	..
EUROPE									
FINLAND	1970	4,507	17,360	10,390	60	386,320	183,459	47	22
	1974	4,383	23,235	...	...	406,058	194,569	48	17
	1975	...	24,494	13,990	61	453,737	219,795	48	19
	1976	4,324	27,414	...	...	438,804	213,615	49	19
	1977	4,299	25,096	...	...	422,638	206,202	49	17
	1978	...	...	...	...	406,921	198,804	49	..
NORWAY	1970	3,060	19,713	11,941	61	385,628	197,323	51	20
	1975	...	45,217	22,741	51	386,559	188,348	49	17
	1975	...	46,901	23,818	51	390,129	190,060	49	17
	1976	3,442	41,893	22,591	54	396,194	192,731	49	17
	1977	3,350	43,971	24,023	55	396,672	193,115	49	17

COUNTRY	YEAR	SCHOOLS	TEACHING STAFF		%	PUPILS ENROLLED		%	PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO
			TOTAL	FEMALE	F	TOTAL	FEMALE	F	RATIO
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		(7)	(8)
SWEDEN	1970	...	30,800	25,600	83	615,331	302,153	49	20
	1974	4,819	42,958	34,446	80	688,806	337,178	49	16
	1975	...	34,185	27,575	81	698,677	341,764	49	20
	1976	...	37,740	30,656	81	698,017	341,147	49	18
	1977	...	38,689	31,305	81	689,839	336,640	49	18
	1978	...	...	...	...	686,811	334,285	49	..
OCEANIA									
AUSTRALIA	1970	8,354	64,670	45,300	70	1,812,000	878,600	48	28
	1974	8,076	73,745	52,258	71	1,596,281	776,739	49	23
	1975	8,009	78,390	56,185	72	1,603,408	780,896	49	22
	1976	8,007	81,747	58,498	72	1,611,213	785,099	49	21
	1977	7,989	85,855	61,390	72	1,642,976	801,643	49	21
NEW CALEDONIA	1970	251	940	442	47	21,632	10,694	49	23
	1974	237	1,307	...	...	24,844	12,171	49	22
	1975	235	1,421	...	...	24,943	12,207	49	20
	1976	234	1,383	...	...	25,691	12,570	49	21
	1977	240	1,462	...	...	26,215	12,922	49	21
NEW ZEALAND	1970	2,596	18,791	11,989	64	400,445	193,825	48	21
	1974	2,554	20,086	12,602	63	388,996	188,513	48	19
	1975	2,544	21,187	13,517	64	393,448	190,984	49	19
	1976	2,595	21,339	13,564	64	395,789	192,338	49	19
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	1970	1,620	6,439	...	...	191,083	69,739	36	30
	1974	1,687	7,454	1,815	24	229,527	82,310	36	30
	1975	1,762	7,544	1,721	23	238,267	88,994	37	32
	1976	1,818	8,067	1,861	23	250,715	93,744	37	31
	1977	...	...	...	...	259,380	99,355	38	..
	1978	2,101	8,805	2,904	24	268,147	106,152	40	30
AFRICA									
SOUTH AFRICA	1970	...	...	...	...	3,738,696	1,854,405	50	..
	1972	15,615	120,284	...	...	4,653,452	...	..	41

TABLE G

COUNTRY		YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL			GENERAL EDUCATION			TEACHER TRAINING			OTHER SECOND LEVEL		
			TOTAL	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%	
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
NORTH AMERICA														
CANADA	Teachers	1970	...	...	..	97,000	...	..	-	-	-	...	...	..
	Students	1970	...	...	...	1,636,913	799,141	49	-	-	-	...	...	..
		1974	...	...	...	2,596,732	1,277,731	49	-	-	-	...	...	..
		1975	...	...	...	2,588,133	1,275,780	49	-	-	-	...	...	..
		1976	...	...	...	2,582,205	1,276,345	49	-	-	-	...	...	..
		1977	...	...	...	2,528,387	1,249,289	49	-	-	-	...	...	..
GUADELOUPE	Teachers	1975	2,147	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
		1978	2,602	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
	Students	1970	29,162	...	...	24,429	13,902	57	334	...	...	4,399	2,417	55
		1974	42,667	22,531	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,655	3,359	50
		1975	43,805	23,291	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,796	3,344	49
		1976	45,611	23,976	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,554	3,620	48
		1978	48,329	25,890	54	34,991	19,556	56	...	...	...	13,338	6,334	47
MARTINIQUE	Teachers	1970	...	...	...	1,691	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
		1975	2,357	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
		1978	3,040	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Students	1970	31,884	...	...	29,454	...	...	419	...	...	2,011	...	...
		1974	46,844	25,204	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,240	3,611	58
		1975	45,260	24,576	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,026	3,499	58
		1976	46,052	25,265	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,486	3,742	58
		1978	48,600	26,469	54	34,156	19,540	57	...	...	...	14,444	6,929	48
MEXICO	Teachers	1970	109,470	...	...	...	...	...	5,131	2,232	44	...	...	...
		1974	139,001	...	...	...	...	...	7,014	...	...	...	...	...

COUNTRY		YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL			GENERAL EDUCATION			TEACHER TRAINING			OTHER SECOND LEVEL		
			TOTAL	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%	
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
MARTINIQUE	Teachers	1970	...	...	...	1,691	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
		1975	2,357	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
		1978	3,040	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Students	1970	31,884	...	...	29,454	...	...	419	...	...	2,011	...	...
		1974	46,844	25,204	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,240	3,611	58
		1975	45,260	24,576	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,026	3,499	58
		1976	46,052	25,265	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,486	3,742	58
		1978	48,600	26,469	54	34,156	19,540	57	...	...	...	14,444	6,929	48
MEXICO	Teachers	1970	109,470	...	...	...	...	...	5,131	2,232	44	...	...	...
		1974	139,001	...	...	...	...	...	7,014	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	169,781	55,218	33	141,730	42,016	30	8,396	3,089	37	19,655	10,113	51
		1976	200,491	...	...	167,404	...	...	9,572	...	...	23,515	...	...
		1977	207,917	...	...	174,350	...	...	10,486	...	...	23,081	...	...
		1978	229,670	...	...	193,448	...	...	11,280	...	...	24,942	...	...
	STUDENTS	1970	1,584,342	609,669	38	1,107,906	...	...	52,852	34,657	66	423,584	...	...
		1974	2,554,041	1,034,463	41	2,190,412	794,184	36	90,747	60,800	57	272,882	179,479	66
		1975	2,938,972	1,159,319	39	2,506,014	853,580	34	111,502	74,706	67	321,456	231,033	72
		1976	3,263,507	1,433,810	44	2,805,474	1,134,553	40	135,981	89,441	66	322,052	209,816	65
		1977	3,502,830	1,584,030	45	3,024,000	1,261,984	42	157,012	103,699	66	321,818	218,347	68
		1978	3,899,878	...	...	3,375,026	...	...	177,238	...	...	347,614	...	...
UNITED STATES	Teachers	1970	1,024,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

COUNTRY		YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL			GENERAL EDUCATION			TEACHER TRAINING			OTHER SECOND LEVEL		
			TOTAL	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%	
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		1974	1,083,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	1,109,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	1,116,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1977	1,130,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Students	1970	19,910,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1974	19,981,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	20,546,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	20,355,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1977	20,342,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SOUTH AMERICA														
BOLIVIA	Teachers	1970	...	...	...	4,370	...	...	344	...	...	...	...	...
		1974	...	...	...	6,049	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	7,143	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Students	19070	...	...	...	75,146	29,462	39	4,356	1,679	39	...	...	...
		1974	...	...	...	112,204	45,789	41	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	130,029	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	128,081	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
BRAZIL	Teachers	1970	308,552	164,457	53	208,312	114,244	...	39,423	28,174	71	60,817	22,039	36
		1974	156,174	80,897	52	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

COUNTRY		YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL			GENERAL EDUCATION			TEACHER TRAINING			OTHER SECOND LEVEL		
			TOTAL	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%	
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Students	1970	4,086,073	2,062,069	50	3,055,652	1,516,877	50	347,873	289,055	83	682,548	256,137	38
		1974	1,681,728	902,113	54	628,178	322,917	51	270,723	241,658	89	782,827	337,538	43
ECUADOR	Teachers	1970	15,699	5,141	33	11,160	3,512	31	1,052	457	43	3,487	1,172	34
		1974	21,085	7,147	34	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,617	1,557	34
		1975	23,446	8,315	35	18,335	6,514	36	130	31	24	4,981	1,770	36
		1976	26,107	...	...	...	...	...	153	...	...	...	...	...
		1977	29,006	...	...	...	...	...	189	...	...	...	...	...
	STUDENTS	1970	216,727	98,500	45	182,514	79,018	43	10,203	6,405	63	24,010	13,077	54
		1974	336,702	160,291	48	293,981	134,780	46	3,294	2,230	68	39,427	23,281	59
		1975	383,624	182,678	48	339,771	156,333	46	913	488	53	42,940	25,857	60
		1976	431,315	...	...	...	...	...	2,191	...	...	...	...	...
		1977	472,949	...	...	...	...	...	2,911	...	...	...	...	...
	Teachers	1970	31,587	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1974	34,769	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	34,136	...	...	36,033	...	...	...	...	...	8,103	...	...
		1976	34,555	...	...	28,761	...	...	...	...	...	7,568	...	...
		1977	35,183	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,422	...	...
		1978	37,383	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
PERU	Students	1970	546,183	233,977	43	453,001	192,948	43	...	...	...	93,182	41,029	44
		1974	747,560	330,805	44	572,967	253,695	44	...	...	...	174,593	77,110	44
		1975	813,489	...	...	627,059	...	...	...	...	...	186,430	...	...

COUNTRY		YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL			GENERAL EDUCATION			TEACHER TRAINING			OTHER SECOND LEVEL		
			TOTAL	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%	
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		1976	890,106	...	...	699,547	...	...	...	...	...	190,559	...	...
		1977	969,129	443,528	46	791,930	362,070	46	...	...	...	177,199	81,458	46
		1978	1,090,200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
EUROPE														
FINLAND	Teachers	1970	32,247	17,091	53	22,099	13,491	61	392	276	68	9,756	3,333	34
		1974	...	...	...	24,291	...	...	...	...	...	11,500	...	...
		1975	...	...	...	23,139	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	30,799	...	...	1,399	...	...	108	52	48	9,292	3,678	40
		1977	28,595	...	...	19,430	...	...	71	31	44	9,094	3,626	40
		1978	32,651	...	...	19,549	...	...	71	3	46	13,031	5,397	41
NORWAY	Teachers	1970	31,459	10,351	33	20,618	7,427	36	...	...	...	10,841	2,924	27
		1974	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,318	3,293	32
		1975	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,332	3,387	33
	Students	1970	302,792	147,053	49	243,714	120,046	49	...	...	...	59,078	27,007	46
		1974	331,149	162,892	49	264,925	132,018	50	...	...	...	66,224	30,874	47
		1975	326,640	159,629	49	263,941	131,998	50	...	...	...	62,699	27,631	44
		1976	329,817	161,707	49	264,020	132,808	50	...	...	...	65,797	28,899	44
		1977	336,408	166,118	49	267,869	135,203	50	...	...	...	68,539	30,915	45

COUNTRY		YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL			GENERAL EDUCATION			TEACHER TRAINING			OTHER SECOND LEVEL		
			TOTAL	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%	
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
SWEDEN	Teachers	1970	54,970	24,101	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1974	54,656	24,792	45	54,656	24,792	45	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	54,200	24,303	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	56,725	26,387	57	36,049	17,607	49	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1977	61,759	29,237	47	39,942	19,900	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Students	1970	554,480	267,532	48	416,001	198,781	48	...	...	...	138,479	68,751	50
		1974	531,594	259,146	49	531,594	259,146	49	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	507,642	258,556	51	369,012	189,047	51	1,078	759	70	137,552	68,750	50
		1976	513,287	260,146	51	377,044	192,372	51	1,116	781	70	135,127	66,993	50
		1977	536,287	273,174	51	397,184	203,021	51	724	504	70	138,379	69,649	50
		1978	575,190	291,834	51	424,300	216,452	51	184	109	59	150,706	75,273	50
OCEANIA														
AUSTRALIA	Teachers	1970	...	...	...	54,668	25,700	47	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1974	68,623	32,083	47	68,623	32,083	47	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	74,041	34,463	47	74,041	34,463	47	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	77,638	35,895	46	77,638	35,895	46	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1977	80,980	37,311	46	80,890	37,311	46	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Students	1970	1,136,960	...	...	956,210	456,788	48	...	...	...	180,750	...	...
		1974	1,059,180	515,494	49	1,059,180	515,494	49	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	1,095,691	534,215	49	1,095,180	534,215	49	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	1,114,250	544,744	49	1,114,250	544,744	49	...	...	...	...	...	...

COUNTRY		YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL			GENERAL EDUCATION			TEACHER TRAINING			OTHER SECOND LEVEL		
			TOTAL	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%		TOTAL	FEMALE%	
			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		1977	1,116,347	549,534	49	1,116,347	549,534	49	...	...	...	...	...	...
NEW CALEDONIA	Teachers	1970	404	175	43	251	128	51	26	8	31	127	39	31
		1974	561	...	...	330	...	...	261	11	42	205	68	33
		1975	...	...	...	379	217	57	30	6	35	...	...	...
		1976	657	298	45	406	212	52	23	11	48	228	75	33
		1977	...	...	...	467	258	55	...	...	...	252	81	32
	Students	1970	5,132	2,345	46	3,745	1,858	50	41	30	73	1,346	457	34
		1974	7,240	3,572	49	5,012	2,665	53	133	90	68	2,095	817	39
		1975	7,960	3,995	50	5,604	3,016	54	135	85	63	2,221	894	40
		1976	8,862	4,456	50	6,406	3,433	54	...	...	...	2,575	1,111	43
NEW ZEALAND	Teachers	1970	...	...	...	9,932	4,290	43	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1974	...	...	...	10,980	4,185	38	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	...	...	...	12,107	4,784	40	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1976	...	...	...	12,367	4,787	39	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Students	1970	...	...	...	303,835	147,235	48	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1974	...	...	...	341,506	167,507	49	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1975	354,107	174,178	49	351,720	172,313	49	...	...	...	2,387	1,865	78
		1976	362,430	178,407	49	359564	176,196	49	...	...	...	2,866	2,211	77
PAPUA	Teachers	1970	...	...	...	807	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL SECOND LEVEL TOTAL	FEMALE	%	GENERAL EDUCATION TOTAL	FEMALE%		TEACHER TRAINING TOTAL	FEMALE%		OTHER SECOND LEVEL TOTAL	FEMALE%	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
NEW GUINEA	1974	1,906	679	36	1,226	494	40	200	77	39	480	108	23
	1975	2,045	700	34	1,282	482	38	166	76	46	586	142	24
	1976	1,880	602	32	1,242	409	33	143	67	47	495	126	25
	1978	...	...	...	1,503	123	8	185	67	36	...	...	...
Students	1970	24,365	6,472	27	17,785	4,849	27	1,865	559	30	4,715	1,064	23
	1974	34,094	...	...	27,046	8,601	32	1,904	...	...	5,144	...	...
	1975	41,391	11,731	28	29,762	9,379	32	1,990	715	36	9,639	1,637	17
	1976	43,004	12,119	28	31,445	9,621	31	1,974	767	39	9,575	1,730	18
	1977	...	...	...	32,339	9,694	30	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1978	...	...	...	36,749	11,223	31	2,658	847	32	...	...	

OTHER COUNTRIES

ASIA

CHINA

COUNTRY	YEAR	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Students	1977	604,106	24,000,000	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	680,000	...	...
	1978	65,483,000	26,848,000	41	...	...	...	...	...	...	889,000	...	...

AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE H

COUNTRY	SEX	NUMBER OF STUDENTS PER 100,000 INHABITANTS					
		1970	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
NORTH AMERICA							
CANADA	MF	2,999	3,107	3,138	3,600	3,583	3,548
	M	3,582	3,546	3,543	3,980	3,790	3,686
	F	2,414	2,669	2,735	3,222	3,378	3,411
MEXICO	MF	492	736	869	949	930	1,034
	M	782	1,145	1,352	1,476	1,347	1,465
	F	199	323	381	416	507	598
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	MF	4,148	4,559	4,819	5,238	5,111	5,197
	M	4,978	5,220	5,428	5,901	5,530	5,467
	F	3,352	3,927	4,238	4,606	4,713	4,939
SOUTH AMERICA							
BOLIVIA	MF	823	759	943	1,019	1,028	1.035
	M	1,198	1,094	1,360	1,413	1,427	1,436
	F	459	433	538	636	640	645
BRAZIL	MF	452	757	895	993	1,166	1,329
	M	564	824	944	1,006	1,168	1,329
	F	341	691	847	981	1,165	1,329
ECUADOR	MF	649	1,307	2,041	2,469	2,544	2,613
	M	909	1,752	2,678	3,174	3,271	3,357
	F	390	816	1,404	1,764	1,816	1,867
PERU	MF	935	1,096	1,199	1,263	1,346	1,425
	M	1,225	1,473	1,606	1,710	1,823	1,927
	F	643	717	789	814	866	919
EUROPE							
FINLAND	MF	1,298	1,453	1,523	1,639	1,683	1,750
	M	1,387	1,517	1,574	1,702	1,742	1,809
	F	1,214	1,393	1,476	1,579	1,628	1,694
NORWAY	MF	1,291	1,613	1,621	1,663	1,822	1,807
	M	1,810	2,136	2,089	2,087	2,098	2,040
	F	77	1,096	1,160	1,244	1,549	1,578
SWEDEN	MF	1,756	1,615	1,577	1,985	2,083	2,311
	M	2,026	1,776	1,717	2,381	2,433	2,602
	F	1,487	1,455	1,439	1,594	1,737	2,022

COUNTRY	SEX	NUMBER OF STUDENTS PER 100,000 INHABITANTS					
		1970	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
OCEANIA							
AUSTRALIA	MF	1,431	1,693	1,884	2,016	2,097	2,145
	M	1,911	2,136	2,293	2,386	2,403	2,441
	F	944	1,244	1,470	1,644	1,789	1,847
NEW ZEALAND	MF	1,502	2,301	2,201	2,312	2,381	2,430
	M	1,823	3,040	2,775	2,880	2,942	3,032
	F	1,182	1,560	1,627	1,742	1,818	1,807
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	MF	43	214	226	239	251	263
	M	69	345	365	386	404	421
	F	14	72	76	81	86	91
AFRICA							
SOUTH AFRICA	MF	370	408	423	437	449	461
	M	558	615	635	656	674	690
	F	186	205	215	222	229	235

TABLE I

Public Expenditures on Education

COUNTRY	YEAR	CURRENCY	TOTAL EXPENDITURE (000) (1)	CURRENT EXPENDITURE (000) (2)	AS % OF TOTAL (%) (3)	CAPITAL EXPENDITURE (000) (4)	TOTAL AS % OF GNP (%) (5)	TOTAL AS % OF ALL PUBLIC EXPENDITURE (%) (6)
NORTH AMERICA								
CANADA	1970	DOLLAR	7,244,700	6,122,500	84.5	1,122,200	8.5	...
	1974		10,674,474	9,574,715	89.7	1,099,759	7.4	...
	1975		12,691,988	11,381,459	89.7	1,310,529	7.9	...
	1976		14,757,380	13,233,587	89.7	1,523,794	7.8	...
	1977		16,721,589	14,994,987	89.7	1,726,611	8.0	...
MEXICO	1970	PESO	10,798,600	7,148,000	...	798,800	2.6	8.5
	1974		26,615,100	23,815,000	89.5	2,800,100	3.3	...
	1975		41,185,400	26,783,400	...	4,668,500	4.2	11.9
	1976		55,177,380	36,507,080	...	5,449,900	4.6	...
	1977		79,017,645	53,627,996	...	6,257,649	4.8	11.7
	1978		103,064,000	...	...	...	...	...
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	1970	DOLLAR	64,600	56,000	86.7	8,600	6.4	19.4
	1974		91,300	82,700	90.7	8,600	6.3	19.0
	1975		100,700	90,800	90.2	9,900	6.2	18.1
	1976		110,700	100,300	90.6	10,400	6.0	17.1
	1977		120,700	109,900	91.1	10,800	6.4	17.7
SOUTH AMERICA								

COUNTRY	YEAR	CURRENCY	TOTAL EXPENDITURE (000) (1)	CURRENT EXPENDITURE (000) (2)	AS % OF TOTAL (%) (3)	CAPITAL EXPENDITURE (000) (4)	TOTAL AS % OF GNP (89%) (5)	TOTAL AS % OF ALL PUBLIC EXPENDITURE (%) (6)
BOLIVIA	1970	PESO	397,156	396,056	99.7	1.100	3.3	28.4
	1974		1,328,003	1,311,280	98.7	17,723	3.0	33.6
	1975		1,660,734	1,658,659	99.9	2,075	3.4	...
	1976		2,228,374	2,205,451	99.0	22,923	3.8	25.4
	1977		2,760,992	2,644,057	95.8	116,935	4.0	...
BRAZIL	1970	CRUZEIRO	5,549,022	4,235,040	...	684,278	2.7	10.6
	1974		20,691,421	...	...	...	2.9	18.6
	1975		28,995,055	...	...	...	2.9	...
	1976		46,804,652	...	...	...	3.0	...
	1977		73,035,853	...	...	...	3.2	...
ECUADOR	1970	SUCRE	1,445,003	1,113,523	78.4	311,480	4.3	23.2
	1974		2,631,100	...	...	...	3.0	23.2
	1975		3,386,500	...	...	...	3.1	25.9
	1976		4,487,000	...	...	...	3.5	28.3
	1977		6,703,875	...	85.9	947,575	4.5	...
PERU	1970	SOL	9,026,900	8,730,500	96.7	296,400	3.8	18.8
	1974		17,944,038	16,665,469	92.9	1,278,569	4.1	18.2
	1975		21,756,200	20,969,700	96.4	786,500	3.9	16.6
	1976		28,592,000	27,782,000	97.2	810,000	3.6	16.3
	1977		34,150,500	31,921,000	93.5	2,229,500	3.4	14.7
EUROPE								
FINLAND	1970	MARKKA	2,678,872	2,404,790	89.8	274,082	6.2	...
	1974		5,035,110	4,276,505	86.9	658,605	6.1	16.5
	1975		6,497,103	5,956,511	86.1	900,592	6.7	16.7
	1976		7,628,727	6,677,009	87.5	951,718	7.1	16.8
	1977		8,765,559	7,598,881	86.7	1,166,678	7.0	12.9

COUNTRY	YEAR	CURRENCY	TOTAL EXPENDITURE (000) (1)	CURRENT EXPENDITURE (000) (2)	AS % OF TOTAL (%) (3)	CAPITAL EXPENDITURE (000) (4)	TOTAL AS % OF GNP (89%) (5)	TOTAL AS % OF ALL PUBLIC EXPENDITURE (%) (6)
NORWAY	1970	KRONE	4,771,600	3,969,100	77.5	1,075,500	5.9	15.5
	1974		8,923,000	7,206,000	80.8	1,717,000	7.0	15.1
	1975		10,456,000	8,427,000	80.6	2,029,000	7.1	14.7
	1976		12,865,000	10,608,000	82.5	2,257,000	7.7	15.1
	1977		14,186,000	11,484,000	81.0	2,701,000	7.6	14.4
SWEDEN	1970	KRONE	13,150,000	10,785,000	82.0	2,365,000	7.7	...
	1974		18,451,100	16,468,100	89.3	1,983,000	7.4	13.9
	1975		21,230,200	19,281,100	90.8	1,949,100	7.4	13.4
	1976		24,905,900	22,454,200	90.2	2,451,700	7.7	13.3
	1977		29,407,300	26,441,200	89.9	2,966,100	8.4	12.7
OCEANIA								
AUSTRALIA	1970	DOLLAR	1,405,000	1,139,000	81.1	266,000	4.3	13.3
	1974		3,728,000	3,027,000	81.2	701,000	6.4	15.8
	1975		4,495,000	3,375,000	83.1	760,000	6.5	16.2
	1976		5,148,000	4,455,000	86.5	693,000	6.3	16.2
NEW CALEDONIA	1970	FRANC CFP	1,532,908	1,371,269	89.5	161,639	...	...
NEW ZEALAND	1970	DOLLAR	267,616	212,525	79.4	55,091	4.9	14.3
	1974II		529,700	434,558	82.0	95,242	5.3	13.5
	1975		631,751	503,643	79.7	128,108	5.5	...
	1976		704,678	575,566	81.7	129,112	5.1	...
	1977		813,887	675,222	83.0	138,665	5.4	...
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	1970	KINA	25,171	20,643	82.0	4,528	4.8	13.2
	1975		61,601	61,601	100.0	...	6.6	14.4
	1976		89,159	80,426	90.2	8,733		/8.8

TABLE J

COUNTRY	YEAR	PURPOSE	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	PRE-PRIMARY	FIRST LEVEL	SECOND LEVEL	THIRD THIRD	OTHER TYPES NOT DISTRIB.
(1)	(2)	(3)				(4)	(5)	(6)
NORTH AMERICA								
CANADA	1977	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	14,875,416	./.	./.	8,999,627	3,941,985	1,933,804
DOLLAR		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	9,180,922	./.	./.	5,609,542	2,377,860	1,193,520
		OTHER DIRECT EXPENDITURE	879,908	./.	./.	537,625	277,896	114,387
		SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS	149,418	-	-	-	129,994	19,424
		WELFARE SERVICES	2,490,303	./.	./.	1,521,575	644,989	323,739
		NOT DISTRIBUTED/ADMIN.	2,174,866	./.	./.	1,330,885	561,246	282,734
MEXICO PESO	1977	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	53,627,996	1,253,725	21,684,995	10,441,292	15,419,962	4,828,022
		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	35,623,716	882,247	16,008,300	6,644,435	10,468,307	1,620,427
		OTHER DIRECT EXPEND.	2,543,646	101,187	355,805	1,201,900	583,364	301,390
		SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS	207,816	-	-	16,732	159,737	31,347
		WELFARE SERVICES	4,993,988	163,535	2,502,599	1,254,194	655,753	417,907
		NOT DISTRIBUTED/ADMIN.	10,258,830	106,756	2,818,291	1,324,031	3,552,801	2.456,951
SOUTH AMERICA								
ECUADOR	1977	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	5,756,300	-	2,326,714	1,700,800	1,382,614	346,172
SUCRE		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	4,830,714	-	1,188,874	1,461	1,044,059	36,296
		OTHER DIRECT EXPEND.	153,982	-	3,910	144,852	5,220	-
		SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS	29,481	-	-	12,041	14,416	3,024
		WELFARE SERVICES	54,468	-	7,690	44,603	2,175	-
		NOT DISTRIBUTED					ADMIN.	687,655
-	26,240					37,819	316,744	306,852
PERU	1977	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	22,658,547	721,237	13,327,721	6,613,618	782,715	1,213,256
		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	20,240,616	643,042	12,026,905	5,921,742	627,551	1,021,376
		OTHER DIRECT EXPEND.	397,122	12,796	92,758	92,509	99,027	82,032
		SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS						
		NOT DISTRIBUTED/ADMIN.	2,038,809	65,399	1,208,058	599,367	56,137	109,848

COUNTRY	YEAR	PURPOSE	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	PRE-PRIMARY	FIRST LEVEL	SECOND LEVEL	THIRD THIRD	OTHER TYPES NOT DISTRIB.
(1)	(2)	(3)				(4)	(5)	(6)
EUROPE								
FINLAND MARKKA	1977	TOTAL CURRENT EXPENDITURE	7,598,881	-	3,779,982	2,092,221	966,760	759,918
		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	4,564,257	-	2,322,639	1,293,107	586,147	362,364
		OTHER DIRECT EXPENDITURE	310,207	-	188,836	101,828	16,380	3,163
		SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS	141,089	-	9,087	9,087	85,792	469
		WELFARE SERVICES	789,649	-	538,313	145,662	102,909	2,654
		NOT DISTRIBUTED/ADMIN.	1,793,679	-	720,996	505,883	175,532	391,268
NORWAY KRONE	1977	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	11,484,000	-	5,567,000	3,071,000	1,619,000	1,227,000
		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	7,802,000	-	4,246,000	1,771,000	1,167,000	617,000
		NOT DISTRIBUTED/ADMIN.	3,682,000	-	1,320,000	1,300,000	452,000	610,000
SWEDEN KRONA	1977	TOTAL CURRENT EXPEND.	26,441,200	-	9,970,600	3,242,600	2,89,800	10,330,200
		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	13,020,300	-	8,752,600	2,430,100	1,837,600	-
		SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS	786,100	-	-	-	-	786,100
		WELFARE SERVICES	3,622,600	-	-	-	-	3,622,600
		NOT DISTRIBUTED/ADMIN.	9,012,200	-	1,218,000	812,500	1,060,200	5,921,500
OCEANIA								
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	1976	TOTAL CURRENT EXPENDITURE	80,426	./.	26,634	19,156	28,719	5,917
		EMOLUMENTS OF TEACHERS	65,637	./.	25,140	14,487	21,577	4,423
		OTHER DIRECT EXPENDITURE	8,489	./.	1,345	2,782	3,215	1,147
		SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS	5,382	./.	35	1,791	3,433	123
		WELFARE SERVICES	918	./.	114	86	494	224

APPENDIX II

CHARTER

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

I. PURPOSES

Section 1 - Purposes

This organization has been formed in order to ensure unity among the Indigenous Peoples to facilitate the meaningful exchange of information among the Indigenous Peoples of the word, and to strength the organizations of the Indigenous Peoples in the various countries. The organization is dedicated to: abolishing the possibility of the use of physical and cultural genocide and ethnocide; combating racism; ensuring political, economic and social justice to Indigenous Peoples; and tc establishing and strenthening the concepts of Indigenous and cultural rights based upon the principle of equality among Indigenous people and the people of nations who may surround them.

II. MEMBERSHIP

Section 2 - Definition

A member within the meaning of this organization shall be defined as an organization of a country, or association of organizations representative of Indigenous Peoples of the country whose objectives are to further their economic self-sufficiency and to attain self-determination. Indigenous People shall be people living in countries which have a population composed of different ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations which survive in the area, and who do not, as a group, control the national government of the countries within which they live.

Section 3 - Admission to Membership

Membership in the organization is open to Indigenous Peoples within the meaning of the present Charter. The admission of any country to membership in the organization will be done initially by the Executive Council. Each admission shall be ratified by the next General Assembly.

Section 4 - Privileges of Membership

A member of the organization shall act in accordance with the principles of the present Charter and shall be entitled to:

a) participate through their chosen representatives in both the General Assembly and the Executive Council;

b) cast votes on any matter concerning the membership as a whole;

c) request support from the membership as a whole for a matter peculiar to themselves as a country.

Section 5 - Representation of Members

A member of the organization shall be represented by the following procedures:

a) where the General Assembly declares that the Indigenous population has a body recognized as representative by the Indigenous population.

These groups will select their own representative or representatives.

b) where the Indigenous population has no such body and while the formation of a body recognized as representative by the Indigenous population is being promoted, a representative or representatives may be selected by the Executive Council on the basis or numbers and population, regions in the country, tribal affiliation, or organized bodies.

Section 6 - Observers, Other Types of Memberships

Observers and other types of membership shall be permitted at the direction of the General Assembly.

Section 7 - Suspension of Members

A member of the organization which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly, upon recommendation of the Executive Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be similarly restored by the membership of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Executive Council.

III. ORGANS

Section 8 - Principle Organs

There are established as the principle organs of the organization, a General Assembly, an Executive Council, a Secretariat and such further organs as may be established by the General Assembly.

IV. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Section 9 - Definition

The General Assembly shall consist of all recognized delegates to the organization at a meeting duly called and convened.

Section 10 - Powers

The General Assembly:

a) may discuss any matter within the scope of the organization;

b) may make recommendations to regional groups or to members or to other International organizations or agencies;

c) shall direct the making of reports or studies for internal use to the organization or for other international organizations or agencies;

d) shall consider and direct any affiliation of the organization with other international organizations or agencies;

e) shall receive and consider the reports it receives from the Secretariat and from others within the organization;

f) shall direct the Secretariat in its functions;

g) shall have the powers necessary to conduct its business, including the power to receive and expend funds and to consider and approve the budget of the organization.

Section 11 - Voting

Each member of the Organization shall have one vote.

Section 12 - Resolution of Disputes Regarding Delegates

In the case of any dispute regarding the delegates of any country, the General Assembly may resolve the matter or delegate the matter at its discretion.

Section 13 - Meetings

The General Assembly shall meet in regular sessions once every two years or at such intervals as may be determined by the General Assembly or the Executive Council.

a) Special General Assemblies may be called by the Executive Council, or by the Secretariat upon the request of five (5) members;

b) The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure;

c) The General Assembly shall select its chairman of each regular General Assembly.

Section 14 - Subsidiary Organizations or Agencies

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organizations or agencies as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

V. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Section 15 - Composition

The Executive Council shall consist of not less than six (6) members whom shall be elected to represent such regions as may be decided upon, from time to time, by the General Assembly, and one member whom shall be the President of the World Council. The President shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the World Council.

Section 16 - Functions and Powers

The functions and powers of the Executive Council shall be defined by the General Assembly. In any situation arising, wherein no direction has been received from the General Assembly and where an immediate response is necessary, the Executive Council shall act in accordance with those principles set out in this Charter. The Executive Council shall seek funding for the organization.

Section 17 - Voting

a) Each member shall have one vote;

b) Decisions of the Executive Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of three members;

c) Decisions of the Executive Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of three members unless the Council itself or the General Assembly decides to require a greater number of any specific issue to types of issues.

Section 18 - Procedure

a) The Executive Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously;

b) The Executive Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members shall be represented by a specifically designated representative;

c) The Executive Council may hold meetings at such places which, in its judgement, will best facilitate its work;

d) The Executive Council may establish such subsidiary organizations as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

e) The Executive Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

f) Any member of the organization which is not a member of the Executive Council shall be able to participate in any discussion concerning matters of direct concern to them.

VI. SECRETARIAT

Section 19 - Composition

The Executive Council shall establish a Secretariat to carry out the Administrative and program functions of the World Council.

Section 20 - Staff

The Staff shall be appointed by the President under regulations established by the General Assembly. Appropriate staffs may be permenantly assigned, as required, to any organ of the organization. These staff shall form a part of the Secretariat. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

VII. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Section 21 - Regional Arrangements

Nothing in this Charter precludes the existence of regional organizations or agencies for dealing with matters relating to the improvement of conditions of Indigenous Peoples within that region. The organization shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken by any regional group or agency.

VIII. INCORPORATION

Section 22 - Incorporation

The Executive Council shall be incorporated in Canada in order to obtain formal legal and tax status as a charitable organization.

IX. AMENDMENTS

Section 23 - Adoption of Amendments

Amendments to the present Charter shall become effective for all members of the organization when they have been adopted by a vote of 2/3 of the members of the General Assembly present and voting.

X. RATIFICATION

Section 24 - Ratification

This Charter shall be ratified by the members in accordance with their respective processes. This Charter shall come into effect when it is signed by the majority of members present at the first International Conference of Indigenous Peoples.